THE NATION'S HISTORY

LEONARD & JACOBS

8th grade

Miss Mary Tipler

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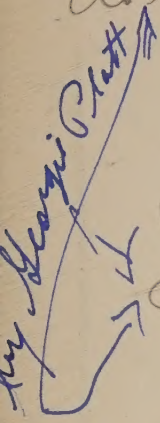
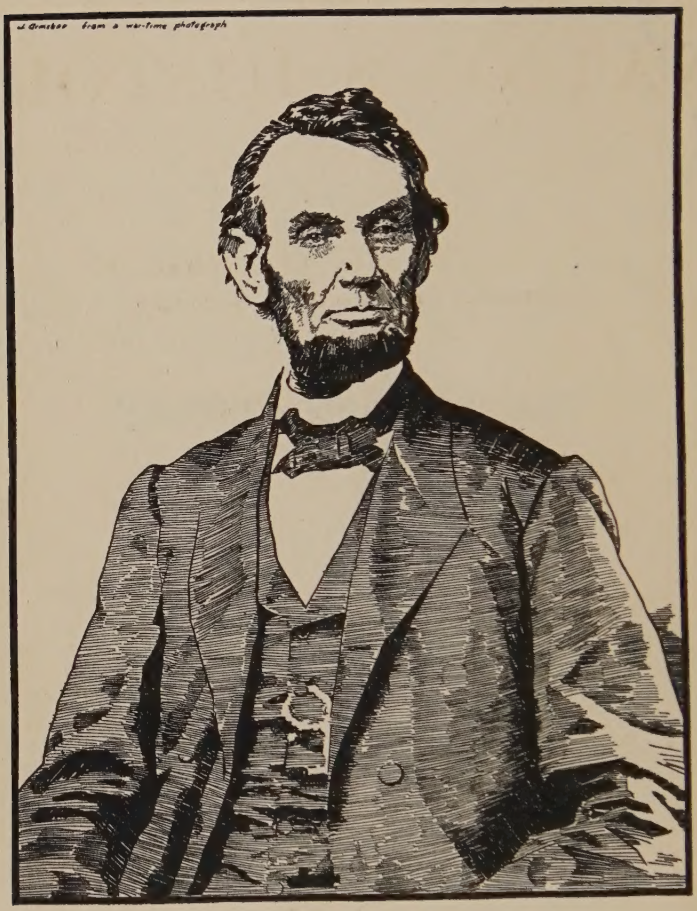
Remember me and do not fa
As long as chickens have a tai



"The road is wide and full o
ditches
You need a wife to patch
your breeches.

THE NATION'S HISTORY



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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Wichita, Kansas.

THE NATION'S HISTORY

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PREFACE

A seventh and eighth grade text book in American history, to be valuable, needs to meet two fundamental requirements. First it must present the subject honestly. To do this it must show our history as a part of world history, with a continuity of cause and effect that will explain how the past created the present. Secondly, such a text must be a tangible and reliable help in the study hour. Many pupils waste time during that period because they have neither a definite study plan nor a way to measure their accomplishment.

The Nation's History is an attempt to satisfy these two demands. Its objective is the leading of the pupil to see the relationship of our history to that of the world, the continuity of the events that have made us what we are, and the existence of certain social and economic factors that are very powerful in shaping our national well-being.

The outlines, the special exercises, the biographical studies, and the minimum library references are all designed for study hour aids. It is hoped that they will furnish the pupil with a plan by which to work, the necessary tools with which to work, and a definite method — thinking through the outline — of testing for himself how much he has accomplished.

The book is the outgrowth of actual classroom experience. In addition it has been tested, in finished manuscript form, by a number of history teachers. Miss Grace Leckliter, of the Indianola Junior High School, and Mrs. Alberta Gates, of the Hubbard Avenue Junior High School, of Columbus, Ohio, have used the entire plan in the grades for which it was designed. The authors are grateful for the many helpful criticisms and suggestions which resulted from their experiments.

Further acknowledgment is gratefully made to Professor George Wells Knight, Head of the Department of American History, of the Ohio State University, for inspiration and encouragement in completing the work, and for careful criticism of the manuscript.

A. R. L.
B. E. J.

Columbus, Ohio
January, 1924

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ASIA
ALASKA
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hudson Bay
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Columbia R.
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
C. Cod
THE PLAINS
C. Hatteras
Rio Grande
GULF OF MEXICO
Bahama Is.
TROPIC OF CANCER
CUBA
PORTO RICO
WEST INDIES
CARIBBEAN SEA
PANAMA
EQUATOR
N
NORTH AMERICA
SHOWING PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

MINIMUM REFERENCE LIBRARY

The Story of Mankind (School Edition), by HENDRIK VAN LOON. The Macmillan Company, New York City, 1923 . . . . . *Van Loon*[1]

The Story of the Old World, by HENRY W. ELSON and CORNELIA E. MACMULLAN. World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y., 1923 . . . . . *Elson & M.*

Builders of Our Country, Books I and II, by GERTRUDE VAN DUYN SOUTHWORTH. D. Appleton and Company, New York City, 1922 . . . . . *Southworth*

Poems of American History, compiled by BURTON E. STEVENSON. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass., 1908 . . . . . *Poems*

A Source Book of American History, edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. The Macmillan Company, New York City, 1918 . . . . . *Hart*

A History of the United States, by CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON. Benjamin Sanborn and Company, Chicago, Ill., 1917 . . . . . *Thompson*

History of the United States, by EMERSON DAVID FITE. Henry Holt and Company, New York City, 1923 . . . *Fite*

Heroes of Progress, by EVA MARCH TAPPAN. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass., 1921 . . . . . *Tappan*

The books recommended for this Minimum Reference Library will be found interesting and readable by pupils in the grades for which *The Nation's History* was written. The number of books has been limited in order that it may be possible for a school to have all the books to which references are made, and in order to eliminate all references to material not adapted to pupils in these grades. An attempt has been made to use simpler references in the early part of the book and the more difficult ones later. Further and more complete material may be found by consulting Channing, Hart, and Turner: *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Ginn and Company, New York City.

[1] These abbreviations are used in the outlines in referring to the reference books.

THE NATION'S HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE GIFTS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD TO US

I. Beginnings of History

A. Civilization began when men began to think

B. What the earliest men did for us

C. Conditions necessary for civilization
   1. Fertile soil.
   2. Protection from enemies.

II. Our Debt to the Countries of the Ancient East — *Van Loon, pp. 16–20, 28, 34–37, 38–39*

A. Egypt
   1. Beginnings of written records.
   2. Buildings.
   3. Industry and science.

B. Babylonia
   1. Written records.
   2. Buildings.
   3. Inventions and discoveries.

C. Phoenicia
   1. The highway of commerce.
   2. The alphabet.
   3. Spreading the seed of civilization.

D. Hebrews
   1. Religion.
   2. Bible.

III. The Gifts of the Greeks to Us — *Van Loon, pp. 61–65*

A. The country and the people

B. The Greeks learn from the East

C. The Greek love for beauty — *Elson & M., Chap. II, III*
   1. Athletic contests.
   2. Temples and statues
   3. Literature.

D. Government of Greek states

E. Greeks became the teachers of mankind

IV. What We Owe to the Romans — *Elson & M., Chap. IV, V*

A. Early Rome
1. The city and the people.
2. Importance of the army.
3. The republic.
4. Wars with Carthage.
5. Julius Caesar.

B. The Roman Empire
1. Its great extent.
2. Literature.
3. Buildings.
4. Laws.

V. The Triumph of Christianity — *Van Loon, pp. 111–115*

A. Beginnings of Christianity
B. Persecutions
C. Constantine

Problems

TOPIC

I. How could you make a fire without matches?

II. How could you determine the length of the year?
A cubit is the distance from a man's elbow to the tip of his middle finger. Can you suggest the origin of other measures?
How could the Phoenicians steer their boats without a compass?

III. Suppose the Greeks had never founded colonies nor made any conquests. What might have happened to their civilization?

IV. Why were the conquests of Gaul and Britain important steps in bringing the gifts of the Greeks and Romans to us in America?

The Record of the Past

What History Is. The history of the United States did not begin with the signing of the Declaration of Independence nor with the discovery of America. History is a continuous stream of events in which present day happenings are largely caused by things which have happened before, sometimes, long, long years before. The more we learn about the things which have happened in the past, the facts of history, the better we come to understand why present day laws and customs, governments and institutions are what they are. Also, and this is one of the chief things that make the study of history worth while, we learn how to avoid some of the mistakes of the past, and along what roads to travel to secure the better conditions for which we hope.

What the Earliest Men Did for Us. It is sometimes said that history began with the first written records; but before

men learned how to write, much progress toward civilization had been made. The earliest men lived but little better than the animals in the forest about them. They were without shelter or clothing and had only such food as could be found from day to day. The very difficulties of existence forced men to use their wits, and civilization advanced as they learned to think. We often speak of the Twentieth Century as an age of inventions, and it is. But some of the greatest and most important discoveries and inventions were made in that long ago period before written records were kept. The manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, the spear, and the knife; the methods of kindling and using fire; the domestication of animals, such as the horse, the cow, the sheep, the dog; the domestication of plants and cereals, such as wheat and barley; the arts of weaving and basket-making and of making pottery; the mixing of copper and tin to form bronze, and the smelting of iron, all of these and many other discoveries we owe to the men of that earliest period who used their brains and hands to better the conditions under which they lived.

"Remains" that reveal something of the history of past ages.

The First Records. Although any system of writing was unknown, these early stone age men left mute records of their lives and struggles in what the historian calls "remains." Pieces of flint, made into fist hammers, arrow heads and rude knives, clay jugs, beads, and vases, some of them rudely decorated, are still being found in the fields and caves where these early men lived, and in the mounds where they buried their dead.

The Struggle for Existence. Their lives were filled with hazards. Food had to be obtained at all costs, but this was no easy task when the forests were filled with mammoth wild and ferocious

beasts. There was equal danger from savage men. Then, too, the terrible cold and the fierce heat of the varying seasons often made the struggle for existence difficult indeed. Only the strongest and wisest could continue to live under such conditions, and these could make little progress as long as they were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for bare existence.

Cradles of Early Civilization. Where the climate was milder, the fields more fertile, and great natural barriers barred out destructive human enemies, groups of men found time and energy for that development which was to mean the future progress of mankind. One such group lived in the valley of the Nile in northeastern Africa and another in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates in southwestern Asia. In these two places, about seven thousand years ago, came such a great forward step that it is often spoken of as the dawn of history. Here in Egypt and Babylonia men first began to make written records. Here for thousands of years men labored and wrought, and out of hard experience brought forth rich treasures of truth and beauty and usefulness which have been handed down to us.[1]

Our Debt to Ancient Egypt. The people of ancient Egypt, in the rich and fertile valley of the Nile, were great builders. Their most famous structures were the pyramids, huge stone sepulchers constructed by various Pharaohs (kings) as burial places and monuments for themselves. The banks of the Nile are also strewn with the ruins of great stone temples, huge statues, and tall shafts called obelisks. Carved in the stone surface of these pyramids, temples, and obelisks is found the peculiar picture-writing of the Egyptians, called hieroglyphics. Until the nineteenth century no modern scholar could read this Egyptian writing. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799, having the same inscription in Egyptian characters and in Greek, furnished the key to Egyptian writings, so that now we know many things about early Egyptian history. We know that farming was the

[1] Civilization also appeared at an early date in China and India, but these countries had little effect on America, so we do not study about them here.

chief occupation of the people. They plowed with oxen, raised wheat and barley, peas and beans, kept cows, sheep, goats, and swine, and had great flocks of geese along the Nile. They even learned to irrigate their fields, and build great dams and canals for that purpose. Paper was made from papyrus, a reed which grew in abundance along the banks of the Nile. Weaving of linen, dressing of leather and manufacture of leather goods, brick making, glass blowing, and many other trades were known and practiced. Among these, the most honored was that of the goldsmith. The Egyptians also made considerable progress in certain sciences, especially geometry and astronomy. Egyptian astronomers worked out the length of the month, and of the year to $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Their leap-year arrangement forms the basis of our present calendar.

Our Debt to Babylonia. At the same time that the Egyptians were developing their civilization in the valley of the Nile, another people in the fertile valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers was developing another civilization. The Babylonians, as these people were sometimes called, had neither stone nor papyrus on which to do their writing. Instead they used clay tablets which were afterward baked hard. Sometimes these were in the form of eight-sided bricks, and great libraries of such "books" have been found in the ruins of ancient Babylon and other cities. These clay-tablet writings prove that the Babylonians of long ago knew something about geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and other subjects. They had invented water clocks and sundials to measure time; and they understood the principle of the lever, the pulley, and the potter's wheel. The arts of enameling and dyeing, and the manufacture of muslin and woolen cloth were all carried on. As a building material, unfortunately, the Babylonians used sundried brick, and so their great temples and palaces long ago crumbled away, leaving only heaps of ruins.

The Contributions of the Phoenicians. We owe much to the first civilized peoples, the peoples of ancient Egypt and Babylonia. They made the beginnings of the industries, sciences, and literature that we have today. To the Phoenicians, a small

nation who dwelt along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, we also owe a great debt. For many hundreds of years the Egyptians and Babylonians knew nothing about each other. Later a considerable commerce sprang up between them, and the Phoenicians took a large part in carrying on this commerce. At first the trade was chiefly overland and the goods were carried by caravans of camels. But the Phoenicians built boats in

THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION

For thousands of years, civilization centered about the Mediterranean Sea, first in Egypt and Babylonia, afterward in Greece, and finally in the Roman empire which encircled the Mediterranean.

which they ventured far out on the sea. Ships from the harbors of Phoenicia sailed all over the Mediterranean and even ventured into the Atlantic as far as the coast of Britain. To carry on trade they began to use money and established a banking system. To keep a record of their business transactions they developed a phonetic alphabet of twenty-two letters. This alphabet, instead of using pictures to represent ideas, as the Egyptians and Babylonians had done, used signs to represent sounds, and made it possible to spell words as we now do. This alphabet and the service in scattering the seeds of civilization around the shores

of the Mediterranean are the great contributions of Phoenicia to the modern world.

The Supreme Gift of the Hebrews. Just east of Phoenicia a kindred race of people, the Hebrews, lived in the land of Canaan. Unlike the other tribes about them who worshiped idols, they developed a religion based on the worship of an unseen, all-powerful, and supremely good God. Their literature and their ideals are kept for us in the writings of the Old Testament. Christianity, an offshoot from the early Hebrew faith, has become the religion of a large part of the civilized world.

The Geography of Greece. The first European country to invite our attention is Greece, a region very different in many ways from the countries of the East. Instead of the long endless river valleys and the wide extended plains of the Orient, we have in Greece a small country about half the size of Pennsylvania. Many high mountains made travel from one narrow valley to another very difficult. As a result Greece consisted of many little states instead of one. Athens and Sparta were the most famous of those states. The coast line of Greece is very irregular, and as a result possesses many excellent harbors. Naturally enough the Greeks became sailors. Multitudes of islands dot the Aegean Sea between Greece and the mainland of Asia Minor, so that on a clear day one can sail all the way across without ever losing sight of land.

What the Greeks Learned from the East. At first the Greeks knew nothing about the world outside, but the excellent harbors and the beautiful islands of the Aegean Sea tempted them out on trips of exploration. Many of them found homes on these islands; and the Phoenician traders brought to them samples of the wares, and tidings of the civilization of the Eastern countries. The Greeks themselves became traders and travelers. They searched out the best features of the Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations, and thus increased their store of knowledge. They soon became the most cultured people in all the world.

Love for Beauty the Great Gift of the Greeks. Greece is a wonderfully beautiful country, and the Aegean Sea with its many islands is often spoken of as the most beautiful body of

water in the world. Living amidst such delightful surroundings, the Greeks became lovers of beauty. Some of them became sculptors, painters, and architects; others wrote beautiful poems and dramas. The Greeks were very fond of athletic contests, such as foot racing, wrestling, and boxing. Taking part in these contests helped to make their bodies graceful. The winners in these games were great heroes in whose honor charming poems were written and splendid statues were erected. Some of the finest statues that anybody has ever made were carved by these Greek sculptors of long ago. Greek artists made other lovely things, such as vases, jewelry, and the like. Pericles, a famous statesman of Athens, undertook to make Athens the most beautiful city in the world. With the aid of sculptors and architects he succeeded in adorning the streets with beautiful statues, beautiful temples, and beautiful theaters. The most famous building was the Parthenon, erected in honor of the goddess Athena, and usually considered the most beautiful building in the world.

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES

Although mutilated, this statue gives the modern world some idea of the rare beauty of Greek art.

The literature of the Greeks is as priceless as their art. It contains some of the most charming stories and poems that have ever been written.

The First Democratic Government. The government of the Greeks should also interest us. Egypt and Babylonia and the other countries of the Eastern world had been ruled by monarchs

with despotic power. Nearly all the states of Greece did away with kings and established democracies in which the people ruled themselves. They were the first in all the world to try such a plan of government. From the experiences of these early Greek states came lessons in the art of self-government which have been valuable to the builders of democracies ever since.

Greek Ideals Spread through Colonization and Conquest. The Greeks were great colonizers. Very early in their history little bands of colonists sailed out across the Aegean Sea to the shores of Asia Minor and up through the Hellespont to the eastern end of the Black Sea. Others went to the West, where thousands of them settled in Sicily and southern Italy which were often called "Greater Greece." About three hundred years before Christ, the Greek conqueror, Alexander the Great, succeeded in subduing a vast territory that had previously been occupied by the Egyptians, Babylonians, Hebrews, and Phoenicians. He established a world empire, and Greek colonists carried Greek language and culture to every part of it. In this way they passed on to other peoples the priceless gifts they had produced.

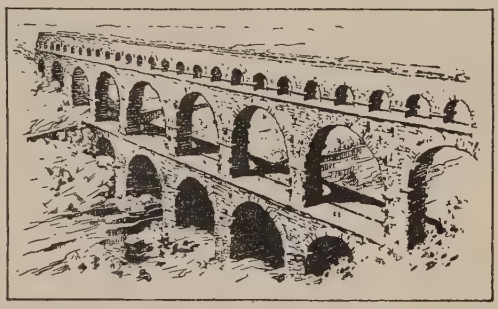
Early Rome. The Romans, a strong, brave, and warlike tribe who inhabited central Italy were the people who profited most by the gift of Greek culture. Early Greek colonists found the rude trading center called Rome already established at the ford of the Tiber and never thought in their superiority that it would be one day the "Mistress of the World." The Romans had a wonderful gift for imitation and easily absorbed all that they admired. In addition they possessed a genius for government which the Greeks had lacked. Early in the history of Rome her people drove out a cruel king and became a republic. Two consuls were elected annually to rule the city-state, and these were aided in the business of administration and law-making by a senate and several other assemblies having special powers. To protect the poor and oppressed, officers called tribunes were chosen. This form of government lasted for nearly five hundred years, and proved equal to the task of governing a constantly growing nation.

The Army Made Rome Mistress of the World. The Roman army played a very large part in the history of Rome. The city was located on the border line between hostile tribes and was necessarily the center of much fighting. Gradually the Romans conquered the other peoples of Italy, including the Greeks in the southern part, and united them under a single government. After this all the Italians were called Romans. Following the conquest of Italy, a series of famous wars was fought with the people of Carthage (a city in northern Africa founded by Phoenicia). In one of these wars the great Carthaginian general, Hannibal, led an army over the Alps mountains into Italy, where he defeated the Romans again and again. He remained in Italy for fifteen years, but still the Romans would not surrender and at last they defeated him. Carthage and her colonies became Roman possessions. Other wars added other territory, until all the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, including Greece, Egypt, and most of the old Alexandrian empire, came under the rule of Rome.

Then Rome's famous general, Julius Caesar, undertook to conquer Gaul (modern France and Belgium). This he accomplished in eight years, bringing the Roman frontier to the Rhine river. Julius Caesar also crossed over to Britain, and a hundred years later another Roman general brought it under Roman rule. All these conquests added so much territory to Rome that the old form of government, the republic, no longer met the needs of the people. The Romans never worked out any system of representative government, but required all citizens to come to Rome to vote. With so large a country this became impossible. Julius Caesar determined to secure some necessary reforms in the government. He was opposed by the Senate and by other generals and their armies. Finally he led his army into Italy, defeated those who opposed him, and for five years was the ruler of Rome. He succeeded in making the government much better than ever before. Unfortunately he was assassinated by misguided patriots. Most of his reforms were continued, but the government became an empire instead of a republic.

The Influence of Greek Civilization on the Romans. For the next five hundred years nearly all of the civilized world was

within the borders of the Roman empire. It was apparently a period of prosperity and happiness.[1] From the Greeks, the Romans had learned many valuable lessons. Every well educated Roman studied the Greek language, read Greek literature, and learned to love the beautiful things which Greek artists had produced. The Romans also developed a literature and art of their own which possessed real value and charm. Furthermore, the Romans were famous builders. Paved roads, great aqueducts to bring water to the cities, fine public buildings, and triumphal arches were constructed not only in Rome but in many other parts of the empire.



Remains of a Roman Bridge

The structure of the bridge shows the skill of the builders, and the fact that it has survived shows how well they builded.

Rome, the Lawgiver of the Nations. A wonderful system of laws which safeguarded the rights of Roman citizens was developed. These laws were known and obeyed throughout the empire and form the basis for the legal codes of a number of modern European countries. They likewise have had a great influence in shaping the laws in some parts of America. All these valuable things were the gifts of the Romans to the people who dwelt in Spain, Gaul, Britain, and other parts of her vast empire, and were by them passed on to later generations.

[1] It was a prosperity founded on slavery and on an inequality of social classes. The rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer. Great landowners were getting control of vast estates on which they lived in royal luxury. Farmers were giving up their tax-burdened fields and flocking to the cities where the lack of production tended to create higher prices. The politicians hushed the complaints of the masses by feasts, shows, and free bread distributions, the cost of which was in turn added to the staggering burden of taxation.

The Beginnings of Christianity. About fifty years after the death of Julius Caesar, there was born in Palestine, which was then a province of the Roman empire, a Jewish baby who was destined to do more for the development of civilization than any other human being who ever lived. The Greeks and Romans of that day believed that there were many gods and their religion did little to help men to be good or to do right. When this baby, who was called Jesus, grew to manhood, he taught that there is only one God, and that the way to please Him is by loving all men and trying to help them. He was the founder of Christianity. In his pure and unselfish life he gave the world its highest ideal of character. In spite of the fact that the best of men fall short of his ideals, the life and teachings of Jesus have been the greatest influence in developing the civilization which we now enjoy.

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

This church was built at Bethlehem on the site of the stable where Christ was born.

The followers of Jesus were soon known as Christians. From the beginning their faith was tried by persecution. Jesus himself was crucified; and many of the early Christians paid for their faith with their lives. As the Christian religion spread over the Roman world its followers were hated and feared and persecuted. The Romans believed in a great many gods and were quite willing to add the God of the Christians to those that they already worshiped. But the Christians declared that the gods of the Romans were false gods and refused to worship them. They even refused to worship the Roman emperor as a god, as the law required. When the emperors learned that the Christians were holding secret meetings, without permission, they decided to suppress them by force. At intervals for nearly three hundred

years the Christians were persecuted throughout the empire. But instead of crushing out the religion of Christ, persecution only strengthened it and caused it to spread.

The Triumph of Christianity. About three hundred years after Christ, the Roman emperor, Constantine, believing that the sign of the cross had aided him in winning a battle, issued an order granting freedom of worship to Christians. After gaining the favor of the emperor, Christianity spread more rapidly than ever. As numbers increased, the organization of the church developed. The bishops in the more important cities became the leaders in the church. Rome had been the capital of the world so long that the bishop of Rome came to be regarded as the head of the church. He was called the pope, and for many hundreds of years the various popes were the most influential persons in Europe.

What the Ancient World Gave to Us. We have how traced very briefly the story of early civilization. We have learned of its beginnings on the fertile banks of the Nile and the Euphrates rivers. We have seen how its beauty was increased by the Greeks and how its influence was extended under the long rule of the Roman empire. The torch which was lighted in that long ago past has been handed on from generation to generation, sometimes flaring brightly, sometimes dim and almost snuffed out, until now it is in our hands. We owe a great debt to the men of the ancient world for the gifts of beauty and wisdom and practical experience which they have handed down to us.

CHAPTER II

WHAT WE OWE TO MEDIEVAL EUROPE

I. The Beginnings of Medieval Europe — *Van Loon, pp. 116–121, 141–145*

- A. End of the Roman Empire
  1. Invasion of the barbarians.
- B. The Franks — *Elson & M., Chap. VI*
  1. Where they settled.
  2. Influence of Clovis.
  3. What we owe to Charlemagne.
- C. The Angles and Saxons
  1. Where they settled.
  2. Augustine wins them to Christianity. (*a*) Services of Irish missionaries.
  3. Alfred the Great.
- D. The Northmen — *Poems, p. 6*
  1. In America.
  2. In Normandy.
  3. William the Conqueror in England.
  4. Effects of Norman Conquest.

II. How the People of the Middle Ages Lived

- A. The common people or serfs
- B. The nobles
- C. The priests and monks

III. The Crusades — *Van Loon, pp. 160–165*

- A. Causes of the crusades
  1. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land.
  2. Cruelty of the Turks.
  3. Love of adventure.
- B. The results of the crusades — *Elson & M., Chap. VII*
  1. On the people.
  2. On commerce and democracy.

Problems

TOPIC

I. The French language is much more like Latin than the English language. Can you tell why that is true?

III. Why did the people in the Middle Ages build the most beautiful churches in the world? We spend more money now on homes and roads and schools. Why?

Exercise: Draw a line exactly ten inches long, and mark it off into inch lengths. Suppose that each inch represents 1000 years. Mark the end of the line to the right 2000 A.D.; two inches to the left will be 0; five inches farther will be 5000 B.C. Number the other inches. Then put in their proper location the following events: Beginnings of Egyptian and Babylonian history 5000 B.C. Beginnings of Phoenician commerce 1500 B.C. Beginnings of Greek commerce 1000 B.C. Alexander the Great 300 B.C. Julius Caesar 50 B.C. Birth of Jesus; End of Roman Empire, about 500 A.D. Crusades, about 1100 A.D. Discovery of America 1492 (about 1500). What would the line to the left of 5000 B.C. represent? How long is the line since the discovery of America?

The Coming of the Barbarians. About a hundred years after the death of Constantine, the Roman emperor who had recognized Christianity and founded Constantinople, came a series of events which spelled the doom of the Roman Empire and marked the beginning of Medieval Europe. To the north of the empire, beyond the Rhine and the Danube rivers, in what is now Germany, lived many tribes of only partly civilized peoples, called Goths. Their numbers had been increasing, and the problem of securing a living by hunting and fishing had become a difficult one. Between the years 400 and 500 A.D. whole tribes of these peoples crossed the Roman frontier, defeated the Roman armies, and overran the Roman empire. Through the rich provinces of Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, wandered these barbarians from Germany, plundering the cities and laying waste the country as they went. Rome itself fell into the hands of the invaders and the Roman Empire in western Europe ceased to exist, except in men's memory and imagination.

The Franks. In many ways, the Franks were the most important of all the tribes that settled on Roman soil. Their old home was along the Rhine river, and they gradually conquered all the Roman province of Gaul which after this was called France. Under the leadership of Clovis, their first great chieftain, the Franks ceased to destroy the Roman cities, learned civilized ways of living from the Romans among whom they dwelt, and in time adopted modified forms of the Roman language and laws. They also accepted the Christian religion.

Charlemagne. The greatest ruler of the Franks was Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. Not only did he conquer additional territory for his country, but he interested himself in schools and laws and literature. He encouraged men to study the old Roman laws and literature which had been largely forgotten. He established schools where the children of the nobles could be taught. The conquerors of Rome had been rude and ignorant barbarians, who had destroyed much of the civilization which the Romans had established. But under the leadership of men like Charlemagne, the Romans and the Franks gradually merged and became the French, with a new civilization containing much that was good from the old Roman world, together with the fresh vitality and new ideas of the Franks.

The Angles and Saxons in Britain. The island of Britain had been for three hundred years a part of the Roman empire. Here, as elsewhere, the Romans had built paved roads, city walls, temples, and public baths. After the fall of Rome, tribes of barbarians from the eastern shore of the North sea came to Britain. The most important of these tribes were the Angles and Saxons. The name England means Angle-land and the English people are often called Anglo-Saxons. These invaders were a sturdy folk, full of vigor and fond of fighting. Their conquest of Britain was attended by great cruelty and suffering. Thousands of the native Britons were slain. Others fled to the mountains of Wales and Scotland and became the ancestors of the Welsh and the Highland Scots. The Angles and Saxons were still pagans who did their best to stamp out the Christian faith that existed in Britain. A Roman monk, afterwards known as Gregory, became interested in the Anglo-Saxons through some slaves that were sold in the Roman slave market. He resolved to carry the good news of Christianity to Angle-land. In a few years he was chosen pope, and then sent Augustine and forty monks to win the Angles and Saxons to Christianity. Their mission met with great success; and the Christian religion played a large part in the work of civilizing the barbarous Angles and Saxons. The Roman missionaries were aided in their work by ardent Irish Christians, for Ireland had been won to the Christian

faith the preceding century through the efforts of Saint Patrick.[1]

Alfred the Great. At first there were many tribes each with its own chief among the newcomers to England, but at length they became united under a single king. The greatest of these Saxon kings was Alfred the Great (871–900). He was both a gallant soldier and a wise ruler. It was necessary for him to fight many battles against the Danes who were then ravaging the east coast of England. Later the Danes accepted Christianity and became peaceful citizens. Alfred collected the laws of England into a written code that men might know what they were. He encouraged manufacturing and trade. He established schools so that his children and those of his nobles might learn to read and write. He urged learned men to translate good books from Latin into English and to write books of their own. Altogether he did as much for the English as Charlemagne had done for the French.

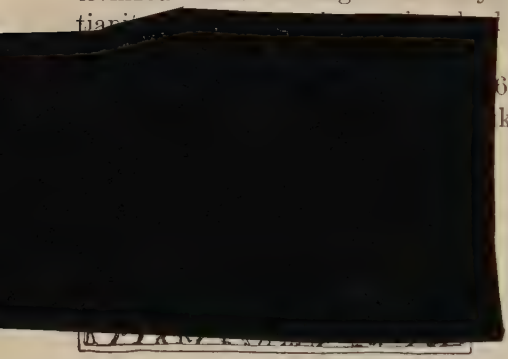
In such frail boats the daring Northmen, or Vikings, ventured upon long voyages which may even have brought them to the shores of North America. Their descendants have vague traditions of such an expedition.

The Northmen. About the same time that Alfred the Great was having trouble with the Danes in England, other parties of Northmen[2] were ravaging the coasts of Europe from France to Constantinople. They like-

[1] Saint Patrick was of Scottish birth but was stolen by raiders and sold into slavery in Ireland. After seven or eight years of captivity he escaped, returned to his home and is supposed to have visited Gaul and perhaps Italy. He studied for the priesthood and finally returned as a missionary to the land of his captivity. He was wonderfully successful and the religious interest that he kindled in Ireland developed until, in the next three centuries, the Irish sent missionaries not only to England and the mainland of Europe, but even as far as Carthage.

[2] The word meant "men from the North" and included Danes and the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula (Norway and Sweden).

wise sailed to Iceland and Greenland; and many people believe they visited the eastern shore of North America. Certain it is that about 1000 A.D. some of their boats reached a fertile country southwest of Greenland which they named Vinland. But the voyages were not continued and such knowledge as they gained of the western continent was soon practically forgotten. One of the leaders of the Northmen, Rolf (or Rollo), and his followers settled down in northern France, in the part which was afterward called Normandy, the land of the Northmen or Normans. These rude rovers of the sea were quick to learn the ways of the more civilized French among whom they lived. They accepted Chris-



tian[illegible] years had adopted the laws

[illegible]6 the English king, Edward [illegible]ke of Normandy, wanted to become King of England, and he claimed that Edward had promised to make him his heir. A council of wise men in England, however, chose Harold, a great Saxon earl, for their King. William immediately got together an army of Norman-French and invaded England. Harold gathered his fighting men and met the Normans in a great battle at Hastings, in the south of England. The English fought with stubborn courage until near nightfall when King Harold was slain and the Saxons fled. So the Normans won the battle; and the Duke of Normandy, now William the Conqueror, marched to London where he was crowned King of England on Christmas Day, 1066.

WILLIAM, THE CONQUEROR, EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND

Taken from the Bayeux Tapestry woven by the king's wife and her ladies. It tells the story of the expedition in fancy work.

The Norman Conquest was destined to have a very great influence upon England. King William was a strong ruler and his able government accustomed the people to the idea of a powerful monarch. His gifts of land to his followers established in the

country a new Norman nobility. The conquest brought England into closer contact with the rest of Europe. It changed the language of the country. Through the Normans who came to live among the English a very large number of French words were added to the old Anglo-Saxon speech. The French language had developed from the Latin; and the Norman Conquest brought many Latin words into our language.

Life of the Common People. The people of the Middle Ages used to say that all men were divided into three classes; the common people who did the work; the nobles who did the fighting; and the clergy who did the praying. The common people did practically all the work. Through all this period, when great battles were being fought, and when great kings like Alfred and Charlemagne were doing their best to bring in the better ways of civilization, the great mass of men were hard at work cultivating the soil and caring for the domestic animals in order that they, as well as others, might have enough to eat. Some of the men who did the plowing and reaping with the rude tools then available were slaves, but by far the greater number were serfs. Only a few were free. The serfs belonged to the land, and while they could not be sold, neither could they move away from the land which they farmed. A certain part of their time and often a part of what they raised belonged to their masters. The lot of the common people in the middle ages was a hard one. They lived in miserable hovels, ate the coarsest kind of food, and had only the coarsest of clothing. They worked hard and had few pleasures. Sometimes they revolted against their lords, for there was a slowly growing spirit of independence, and while these uprisings were usually put down with great cruelty, yet, little by little, the lot of the serfs improved. By the time America was discovered, most of the serfs in England and many of those in France had become free men.

The Nobles and Their Castles. The nobles who did the fighting owned most of the land and received from their serfs a part of what was raised on it. Because this was a period of lawlessness and disorder, the nobles built strongly fortified castles in which to live. These were sometimes on a cliff or an island. They were

surrounded by a great wall, and often there was a moat, or ditch filled with water, outside the wall. To enter the castle, it was necessary to cross a drawbridge over the moat and then pass through a great barred gate between two strong towers. Fighting and hunting were the chief interests of the lords of these castles, but the roughness of their lives was somewhat softened by the rise of the order of knighthood, and the laws which governed it, called chivalry. As a result, a standard was established among them of brave, loyal, dignified, and courteous conduct which has been handed down to us.

A Medieval Castle

Every feature of such structures was designed to withstand attack. Notice the almost perpendicular sides of the foundation hill, the narrow approach, high walls, and small windows.

The Influence of the Church. The church in the Middle Ages had a powerful influence over the lives of all the people of that period. The bishop of Rome was known as the pope, and was looked up to as the head of the Catholic faith in western Europe where no other church was permitted. Nowadays we belong to whatever church we wish, or to none, and we give our money or we refuse to give, as we please. In the Middle Ages, everybody was required to belong to the one church. To refuse to obey the church or to deny the truth of what it taught was regarded as treason to God, and might be punished with death. The church also laid a regular tax, or tithe, which people were compelled to pay, just as nowadays they must pay taxes to support the government. Each community was a parish, and each parish had its parish church and its priest, who was the religious leader of the people. In the cities in which a bishop of the church lived, the people erected beautiful cathedrals with splendid stained-glass windows and adorned them with

statues and paintings. Some of these cathedrals are the noblest works of art in all the world.

The Monasteries. Besides the priests who had charge of parishes there were great numbers of monks living in monasteries and nuns living in convents. Whenever men and women grew weary of the fighting and turmoil of the times, or wished to devote their lives to religion or study, they retired from the world. In this way they found peace and quiet. Some of the monks worked at various trades and so kept alive the knowledge of many arts and crafts which the Romans had possessed. Others gave much of their time to copying by hand the precious manuscripts which were the only books the world then knew. Some of these books which the monks copied are beautifully decorated in bright colors with charming borders of flowers and birds, vines and leaves.

Medieval Monk Copying a Manuscript

Causes of the Crusades. From the earliest times many people have believed that a visit to some sacred spot would be especially pleasing to God. The land of Palestine where Jesus lived and taught, and the city of Jerusalem near which He was crucified, were believed by the Christians to be the most sacred places on the earth. So every year great numbers of people set out on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Many of these pilgrims went on foot across Europe to Constantinople and thence through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. Others traveled to some seaport and went by ship to the coast of Syria. In the eleventh century Palestine was conquered by a fierce tribe of savage Turks who treated these pilgrims with such cruelty that the whole Christian world was thrilled with horror by the stories of these outrages. In 1095 a great meeting was held at Clermont in France to protest against such cruelty. Here Pope Urban II with fiery eloquence called

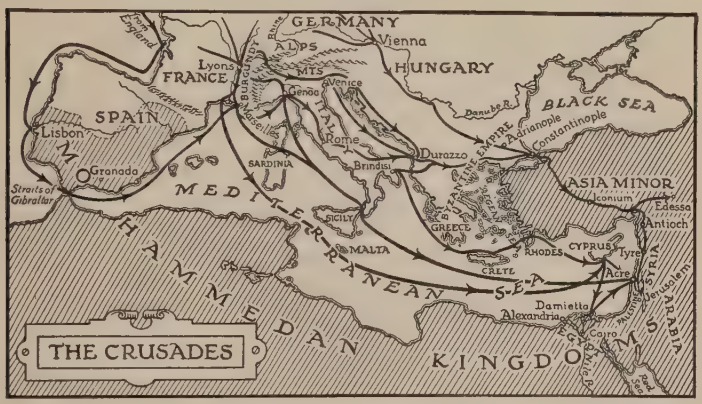
upon the knighthood of western Europe to enlist in a war for the deliverance of the Holy Land. "Christ Himself," he said, "will be your leader when you fight for Jerusalem . . . . Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves!" This appeal met with instant response. Crying, "It is the will of God," the knights fastened red crosses made of cloth upon their breasts as signs that they were pledged to fight for the deliverance of Jerusalem. So began the first of several great military expeditions, or Crusades,[1] which at intervals during the next two hundred years sought to rescue the Holy Land from the Turks.

A Crusader

Results of the Crusades. The Crusades did much to change the habits of life among the people of Europe. The Crusaders saw many strange sights and learned many new things. At Constantinople, through which many of them passed on their way to Palestine, they saw a splendid city with flourishing manufactures and widespread commerce. The Greek language was still spoken there and the old Greek books still read. The refinement and elegance of Constantinople contrasted sharply with the crudity of the home surroundings of the Crusaders from England, France, and Germany. Even more astonished were the Crusaders to find the people of Syria and Palestine superior to themselves in learning, arts, and manufactures. From the Arabs they learned our present system of numbers in arithmetic. Algebra and many lessons in medicine and in chemistry came from the same source. In the making of weapons, rugs, vases, copper and silver lamps, fine glassware and pottery, the Arabs easily surpassed the rest of the world. Rice, sugar, hemp, asparagus, oranges, lemons, apricots, perfumes, and paper, the Crusaders saw for the first time.

[1]The word Crusade comes from the Latin word, crux, meaning cross.

To see these things was to desire them. Consequently the Crusades stimulated trade between the East and the West. The seaport towns of Italy, especially Venice and Genoa, profited greatly from the new commerce. Regular routes carried the trade inland to the cities of northern Europe and these began to grow rapidly. The people of Europe also began to manufacture many things which they had never made before, but which the Crusades had taught them to desire.



To rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Mohammedans, thousands of Christians from Western Europe journeyed by land and sea to Jerusalem. They returned with a new appreciation of the value of learning and helped to rekindle the torch of civilization.

What We Owe to Medieval Europe. The beginnings of industry and art, of literature and science and religion, all date back to the ancient world of Egypt and Babylonia, Greece and Rome and Palestine. The overthrow of the Roman empire seemed for a time to have extinguished the torch of civilization. But the love for individual liberty and the fresh manly vigor which the barbarian invaders possessed have proved to be of great value to the world. The Crusades played a very important part in leading the people of western Europe to see and appreciate and make use of what other people had accomplished; and the torch began to glow again with a new light.

CHAPTER III

THE EUROPE THAT FOUND AMERICA

I. Europe in the Fifteenth Century — *Van Loon, pp. 166–176*

- A. Life of the people
  1. Farming and country life.
  2. Nobles and clergy.
  3. Growth of towns. (*a*) How goods were made and sold.
- B. England
  1. Why important to us.
  2. Magna Charta.
  3. Beginnings of Parliament.
- C. France
- D. Spain
- E. Other countries

II. The Beginning of Modern History — *Van Loon, p. 199*

- A. The revival of learning
- B. The printing press
- C. The reformation

III. Development of Commerce — *Van Loon, pp. 217–221*; *Southworth, Chap. II*

- A. Importance of Genoa
- B. The trade of Venice
- C. Trade routes to the East
- D. Story of Marco Polo
- E. Coming of the Turks

IV. The Demand for a New Trade Route

- A. Importance of Eastern trade
- B. The spirit of adventure
  1. Effect of inventions.
- C. Prince Henry the Navigator
- D. Vasco da Gama reaches India

Problems

TOPIC

I. In what respects does our American Congress resemble the early English Parliament?

II. Try to imagine the world without any printing presses. Should we be able to have a republic like the United States?
IV. Why did Portugal rather than Genoa or Venice seek to reach India by sailing around Africa?

Exercise: On an outline map draw the trade routes to the East. Then color with red the territory conquered by the Ottoman Turks. See how the old trade routes were blocked.

Fifteenth Century Europe Unlike That of Today. Europe in the fifteenth century was a very different place from Europe today. The political geography was different; countries which we find on the map now had no existence then, and some of those which appeared on the fifteenth century maps have lost their names and become parts of other countries. The ways of living, of travel, of dress, of manufacture, and of trading were all different. Inasmuch as the ancestors of most of the people of the United States came from Europe, it is important that we should understand something about these different ways of living and of doing business.

Home Life in the Country. A very large majority of the people in the fifteenth century were farmers. They lived, for the most part, in little villages containing a score or more of houses. The houses were usually dirty hovels, one-roomed and thatch-covered, with a hole in the roof to let the smoke out and the light in. Glass was almost unknown; many houses had no windows; a few had oiled linen cloth for window panes. There were no floors except the ground, no carpets, no stoves, few chimneys, usually nothing but a pile of straw for a bed and skins of animals for covers. Clothing for the workers consisted chiefly of one garment reaching to the knees and belted in at the waist with rope or leather.

Strangely enough a man's farm was not all in one piece but was made up of many long, narrow strips scattered in different fields. This made it necessary to cultivate the fields in common. It required eight to twelve oxen to pull the rude, heavy, wooden

plows then in use; perhaps each farmer would furnish one or two oxen as his part of the team. Most of the other work was done by hand; the reaping with a sickle, the threshing with a flail. Six or eight bushels of wheat or rye to an acre was considered a good yield. The food of the common people was limited to the few things which they could raise. Wheat bread was only for the well-to-do or for feast days. Barley bread was more common. The very poor had bread made from oats, rye and beans without yeast. Cabbages, onions, parsnips and carrots were grown, but potatoes were unknown in Europe until they were taken there from America. For a large part of the year only salt meat could be

A Medieval Plowman

had. Honey was used in place of sugar. Black bread, cabbage, and beer was the most common diet of the poorer people, with perhaps a small piece of meat on Sundays and feast days.

Life in the Castles. The nobles lived in much greater luxury than the common people: the castles contained many rooms and were made as comfortable as conditions permitted. In them were held great feasts where as many as eight hundred knights sat down together. Tables were loaded down with roast pork, ham, sausages, beef, poultry, venison, and game of all kinds. Sometimes a feast lasted several days. Minstrels came from far and near with songs and stories to entertain the guests. Dice, chess and backgammon were popular indoor games, while hunting was the favorite outdoor sport.

The Clergy. The lot of the clergy varied greatly. Some of the monasteries had become very wealthy and the monks sometimes lived extravagantly. The bishops and other high officials of the church commonly had large incomes and enjoyed such luxuries as the times afforded. The parish priests, on the contrary, were frequently very poor and shared the hard conditions of their parishioners. There were also several orders of poor friars, notably the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who took a vow of poverty and lived simply. With the exception of the clergy not many people were able to read or write. All the teachers, therefore, were priests, and such schools as existed were church schools.

The Growth of Towns. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, a fourth class of people appeared in Europe, the free citizens of the towns. By the fifteenth century a great number of towns or cities had come into existence, largely as the result of the trade which was developing between different sections of Europe and with Asia. Most of these towns had secured charters of liberties from their overlords or kings. The tradesmen in the towns were at once manufacturers and merchants. Those who belonged to a particular trade, the bakers, shoemakers, or silversmiths, for example, formed unions or guilds to protect their interests. They required a young man to spend from three to ten years learning a trade before he could practice it. The guilds were a very important factor in developing trade customs. All the goods, of course, were made by hand; practically no machinery had been invented. Lack of money made trade difficult. There were no such stores as we have today. The shop was in the back part of the building, and the store in front where each man sold his own products. Frequently the shop was also the living quarters of the family. Once a year or oftener, great fairs or markets were held to which merchants from far and near brought their wares, and purchasers came to see and buy. Usually the fair was outside the town and lasted several days.

Why English History Is Important to Americans. From the point of view of American history, England was the most important country in Europe because a much larger number of immi-

grants came to America from England than from any other country.[1] The foundations of the liberties we prize so highly in our country were laid in England long before the discovery of America. All the larger countries of Western Europe in the fifteenth century were ruled by kings. In most countries the kings were absolute monarchs: that is, the will of the king was the law of the land. In England, however, the people secured some important rights and some small share in the government, and these were a part of the heritage English immigrants brought to America.

Magna Charta—the Beginning of English Liberty. One of the most important guarantees of rights to the people of England was the Great Charter or Magna Charta. King John of England, like most kings of the Middle Ages, abused his subjects by levying unjust taxes, throwing into prison those who displeased him, and leaving them there for months or even years without a trial. Secret discontent with such treatment finally changed to open rebellion. The nobles of England united in demanding of the king a guarantee against future wrongdoing. King John did not wish to yield, but finally he met the nobles at Runnymede on June 15, 1215, and signed the Great Charter, granting all that the nobles asked. This charter provided that never again should King John put a man in prison and keep him there without good and lawful reason. Most important of all, no new fines, aids or taxes should be collected without the consent of the great council of nobles. Such provisions as these were the beginnings of English liberties.

The Beginnings of Parliament. Because the English people could not trust King John to keep his promise, a council of twenty-five nobles was established to watch over their new-won liberties. No unusual taxes could be levied without its consent. One king who succeeded John tried to get around this by demanding gifts from the cities and from rich Jews and others. He could not get enough money in this way, however, so he had to call the council, which on assembling refused to vote taxes until the king carried out needed reforms. Another king, knowing that a large share

[1] From the European point of view Spain was a much more important country than England at that time.

of the taxes were paid by men who were not of noble birth, required each county to send two knights and each city to send two citizens to look after their interests. This plan of choosing representatives to act for the many who could not attend the meetings to act for themselves was a clever idea of the English. It is the only way the people in a large country may have a voice in the making of laws. These English lawmakers came to be known as Parliament, and in time its nobles met in one division, called the House of Lords, while its knights and citizens meeting separately came to be known as the House of Commons. Parliament used its right to grant or refuse taxes as a big club to compel the various kings to give the people other rights and a larger share in the government. The English whose descendants were to come to America thus learned important lessons in government from their experiences with Parliament.

An Early English Parliament
As an artist of that day saw it.

Fifteenth Century France. France, as the great Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne came to be called (see page 16), passed to a line of inferior rulers who oppressed the people and divided the land. Not until the fifteenth century was there a French king strong enough to unite the country and establish himself as an absolute monarch. England was France's great rival for power, and the two countries fought many long and bloody wars over their various land claims, both before and after the discovery of America.

The New Spanish Kingdom. To the south of France was the new kingdom of Spain. The Spanish peninsula had been conquered by the Mohammedans[1] about the year 700 A.D. For hundreds of years the Spanish fought to drive the Mohammedans out of Spain. By the early fifteenth century, they had been

[1] These were followers of the religion founded by Mohammed.

driven into the Southern part of the peninsula, into Granada. Three Christian kingdoms, Portugal, Castile, and Aragon, occupied most of the rest of Spain. Then Ferdinand, prince of Aragon, married Isabella, queen of Castile, and from this union the modern kingdom of Spain developed. The fight against the Moors, as the Spanish Mohammedans were called, continued until in 1492 they were defeated and driven entirely out of the peninsula. Spain soon became the most powerful country in Europe. Portugal and the Netherlands for a time came under her rule, and for many years the king of Spain had important possessions in Italy and Germany.

An Early Printing Press

Other Countries of Europe. These three countries, Spain, France, and England, were the only ones in a position to contend for the possession of America. The united Germany of the twentieth century did not exist. Instead that country was divided into hundreds of little states, practically independent of each other. Italy was likewise broken up into tiny independent states and cities. Italy was a *name*, not a *nation*.

The Revival of Learning. Modern History is often dated from the latter part of the fifteenth century. At that time a number of things happened which opened men's minds to new ideas. The first of these was a great new awakening of interest in the half-forgotten civilization of Greece and Rome. This "Revival of Learning," as it was called, began in Italy and spread rapidly to other parts of Europe. Men began to search for old Greek and Roman manuscripts, and other evidences of the learning of long ago. All this would have amounted to little, but for the invention of the printing press which made it possible to print great num-

bers of books. They became cheap and common and thousands of people whose knowledge of the world had been confined to their own village became acquainted with the literature of Greece and Rome and learned of the beauty and grandeur of their civilization. The torch which had burned so dimly early in the Middle Ages was beginning to flare more brightly.

The Protestant Reformation. Among the other books which men began to study was the Bible. Before this time, the only Bibles were in Latin or Greek and only the priests could read them. Soon, however, the Bible was translated into English, German, and other languages, and the common people began to read it. Such reading set the people to thinking for themselves, and the more they thought, the more differences of opinion there were about religious things. Heretofore all such differences had been settled by an appeal to the Pope; but only a few years after the discovery of America, a German professor named Martin Luther began to insist upon his own right to interpret the Bible for himself even in opposition to the Pope. Luther's belief spread rapidly, and soon great numbers of Protestants were to be found not only in Germany, but also in France, England, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries. The result was that the people of England, Scotland, Wales, and nearly all the northern countries of Europe broke away from the Catholic church and formed new religious sects. Spain, Italy, and other southern countries remained loyal to the Pope and to the Catholic church. These religious differences more than once were to have an effect upon the growth of America.

Development of Manufacturing and Commerce. Manufacturing and commerce developed very rapidly in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For a time Genoa led the other Italian cities in commerce. Merchant vessels laden with oils and wines from Italy and France, figs from Spain, metals and leather from Germany, and manufactured goods from the cities sailed from the harbor of Genoa for Constantinople and other eastern ports. They brought back grain and hides from southern Russia, fine woolens from Asia, and silks and spices from the Far East.

After a time the leadership in commerce passed to Venice, and a little while before the discovery of America, it was the richest city in Europe. Venice had long been noted for its manufactures. It made the finest linen in Italy; silks, laces, and leather goods of unsurpassed quality, and glassware famous for its delicacy and beauty. But the glory of Venice was its commerce. Three thousand merchant vessels sailed under the Venetian flag with a fleet of three hundred warships to protect them. The traders who sailed from Venice to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean met there the caravans from Arabia, India, and other Far Eastern countries. The spices, perfumes, precious stones, costly woods, and fine manufactured articles which these caravans brought were much sought after by the wealthy people of Europe. Through this rich trade a new European interest grew up in the countries which furnished such fine wares. Arabia, India, China (or Cathay), and even Japan (or Cipango) became familiar names among the merchants.

Trade Routes to the East. There were three principal routes along which this commerce moved. One was almost wholly a water route by way of Egypt across the Isthmus of Suez out through the Red Sea, across the Arabian Sea to India, and thence along the coast to China or the East Indian Islands. A second route started out from the seaports of Syria, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, across the desert to the valley of the Tigris river, down the river to the Persian Gulf, and thence by ship to India and China. The third route was by way of Constantinople to the ports of the Black Sea and then overland across the deserts of central Asia to northern China. Along these routes, the goods of the East were carried in many different ways, in strange looking Chinese or Malayan ships, on river boats, by caravans of camels or trains of pack mules, and sometimes on the backs of men. The European merchants could always find the spices and perfumes, the jewels and silks and rugs from the far eastern countries in the ports of Egypt or Syria or the Black Sea.

Marco Polo's Tales of the East. For a long time the people of Europe knew very little about these eastern lands which supplied them with such luxuries. A few explorers and travelers

talk of the possibility of finding some new way to the East, and a few of the boldest and most venturesome began to search for it. The invention of printing and the resulting growth of interest in literature had led men to think and dream and plan. With the newly discovered telescope, they found wonderful new truths about the stars in the heavens above. Rumors of strange new islands far out in the Atlantic inspired men to venture on voyages of discovery. The compass and the astrolabe were now invented so that sailors could keep track of their positions when far away from land. So the spirit of adventure and discovery seized the minds of men and led them forth.

Portuguese Explorations. The Portuguese were among the first to undertake voyages of discovery and after many years actually found a new route to India. The little country of Portugal was peopled with hardy sailors. Prince Henry the Navigator, son of the king of Portugal, was greatly interested in making explorations. He spent many years studying the art of navigation, making maps and training captains. He believed it was possible to reach India by sailing around Africa. If only his captains could find this ocean route to the East, a great empire and untold wealth would be Portugal's reward.

At first progress was very slow. The dangers and difficulties were great. The ships were small and clumsy. The sailors were ignorant and superstitious. Many of them feared that if they sailed too far from land they would be unable to return. Dry bread and salt beef were the only provisions they could take, and on long voyages many sailors became sick and died from poor food. But year after year Portuguese explorers pushed further and further south along the coast of Africa. Before Prince Henry died in 1460, they had reached the gulf of Guinea and were bringing home gold and slaves from that region. After his death, bold Portuguese captains continued to work their way southward. In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern point of Africa, and named it the Cape of Storms. When the king of Portugal heard this name, he said, "Nay, let it be called rather the Cape of Good Hope, since now there is much reason to believe that we have found the long sought ocean route to India."

Ten years later, 1497, another Portuguese captain, Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, sailed boldly across the Indian ocean to India, and returned to Portugal with a rich cargo. A new and safer way to the East had been found, and the Portuguese soon built up a vast and profitable commerce.

Monday.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDING OF AMERICA

I. Christopher Columbus and His Plan — *Van Loon, pp. 224–228*

A. Early life of Columbus — *Poems, pp. 9, 14*
   1. Born at Genoa.
   2. Lived in Portugal.
   3. A student of geography. — *Hart, p. 1*

B. His plan for reaching India — *Southworth, Chap. III*
   1. What the plan was.
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   1. Danger and discouragements.
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D. His other voyages

E. His death

II. The Finding of Strange Coasts — *Poems, p. 19*

A. The new land supposed to be Asia

B. Voyage of Cabot — *Elson & M., Chap. VIII*

C. How America was named
   1. Americus Vespucius.

D. Voyages of Verrazano and Cartier

E. How it was proved that America was not Asia
   1. Balboa's discovery.
   2. Voyage of Magellan.

III. The New World Which Had Been Found

A. Geography and natural resources

B. The Indians

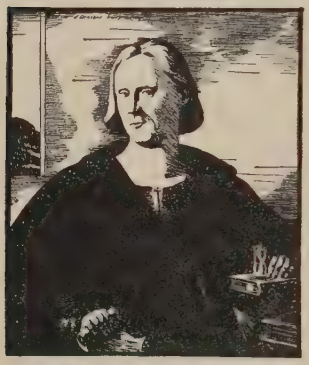
Problems

TOPIC

I. If Columbus had known that America lay stretched from the frozen north to the far south, would he have tried to reach India by sailing west? Why didn't Columbus know immediately that the islands of the West Indies were not near Asia?

II. Columbus, Cabot, Vespucius, and Verrazano were all Italians. Why did the early explorers come from Italy rather than from some other country?

Christopher Columbus. While the Portuguese were seeking the new route to India by going around Africa, an Italian mariner named Christopher Columbus, was planning to reach India by sailing boldly westward across the Atlantic Ocean. Of course, he had no idea of discovering America. No one suspected that another continent lay stretched from north to south across the westward route to the Far East.



Christopher Columbus as a Young Man

Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy, about the middle of the fifteenth century. His father was a wool comber, and young Christopher learned his father's trade. At the age of fourteen he became a sailor. After a number of adventurous voyages he settled in Portugal and married the daughter of a famous sea captain who had served under Prince Henry the Navigator. Columbus is described as being tall and well built, with red hair and beard, a long ruddy face, and clear gray eyes. He had a taste for caps and cloaks of crimson and scarlet. For a time, he earned his living by making maps and charts. He was a student as well as a sailor, and he spent a great deal of time poring over the papers of his father-in-law and studying books on geography. Ever since the days of Greece and Rome, the best scholars had believed that the world was round; but the idea had never been generally accepted. Many people believed that the earth was flat. Columbus became convinced by his studies that he could reach Asia by sailing westward across the Atlantic Ocean. The glory of Columbus is that he had the courage to put his faith in this conviction to the test.

Portugal's Treatment of Columbus. As soon as Columbus had formed his plan for finding the new route to India by sailing westward, he began to look for help to carry out the scheme. He had already been in the service of the king of Portugal on several voyages down the African coast. Naturally, therefore, he first presented his plan to the Portuguese king. The Portuguese courtiers ridiculed both Columbus and his plans, and asked whether he really believed the earth was round and that people on the other side walked with their heads down. The king secretly sent out a ship to the westward to see what could be discovered, but his sailors soon lost heart and returned to Portugal. When Columbus learned of this attempt to steal his plans, he immediately left Lisbon and went to Spain.

THE WORLD AS COLUMBUS BELIEVED IT TO BE

This map is redrawn from a globe made by Behaim, a friend of Columbus, in 1492. Although ignorant men believed that the earth was flat, educated people were convinced that it was round.

Columbus at the Court of Spain. At this time Spain was ruled by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, youthful sovereigns whose chief purpose was to drive out the Moors and to establish a united country. For seven long and weary years they kept Columbus following them from military camp to military camp, tormenting him with expectations of help that were postponed again and again. The Spanish courtiers regarded his plan as foolhardy and impractical, and like people in other ages, scoffed at the man with a new idea. At last Columbus, his hair whitened and his shoulders bent with bitter disappointment, gave up in

despair. He prepared to leave for France to seek aid for his daring plan in another court. At this moment a final victory over the Moors freed Spain from their control, and a messenger was sent to overtake Columbus with the good news that Queen Isabella would help him get money and ships for the voyage. The ships were soon ready; but it was no easy matter to find sailors who were willing to undertake so perilous a voyage as this was supposed to be. So far as they knew no one had ever crossed the "sea of darkness," as the Atlantic Ocean was called. It was generally believed that horrible monsters lay in wait to swallow ship and crew. Tales were current of a mountain of lodestone which would draw all the nails out of a ship, and of dreadful boring worms which could puncture the wooden keel of the stoutest vessel. One of Columbus's friends urged sailors to join them, saying, "Friends, come with us! Come with us on this voyage! Here you are in poverty. Come with us, for according to accounts you will find the houses with roofs of gold, and you will return rich and prosperous!" At last, three small ships, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*, were ready with about ninety sailors to man them.

The Discovery of America. In the early morning of August 3, 1492, the little fleet sailed out from Palos, Spain, and headed across the unknown seas to the west. They were compelled to stop for a month at the Canary Islands to repair one of the ships, and on the sixth of September made the final start on this remarkable voyage. Columbus was favored with clear skies and a steady east wind which made progress rapid; but the swift flying sails could not leave age-long superstitions behind. Day after day, as they sailed westward, the fear of the sailors increased. Dreadful tales of sea disasters and sea monsters came to their minds. Even the steady east wind became a frightful thing. How could they ever get back in the face of it? And if the world was round, as their captain said, were they not daily sliding down the slope? And how could they ever climb back again? Dark faces and ominous whisperings warned Columbus that there was mutiny aboard. Refusing to notice the discontent, the great pilot declared that he must reach the Indies and would sail on

until with God's help he found them. An American poet, Joaquin Miller, has told us in a splendid poem how Columbus cheered on his men.

"My men grow mutinous day by day;
My men grow ghastly wan and weak."
The stout mate thought of home; a spray
Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.
"What shall I say, brave Admiral, say,
If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
"Why you shall say at break of day
'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!'"

COLUMBUS'S FLEET

They sailed. They sailed. Then spake the mate:
"This mad sea shows his teeth tonight,
He curls his lip, he lies in wait,
With lifted teeth as if to bite!
Brave Admiral, say but one good word:
What shall we do when hope is gone?"
The words leapt like a leaping sword,
"Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!"

For five long weeks they sailed steadily on, and then at length their weary watching was rewarded. Early in the morning of October 12, 1492, land was sighted. It was one of the small

islands belonging to the Bahama group. Columbus and his men landed, knelt on the shore, and gave thanks to God for his mercy. The island was named San Salvador, and Columbus took possession of it in the name of the king and queen of Spain. Then for several weeks he cruised about in that locality visiting, among other islands, Haiti and Cuba. He was disappointed, however, in not finding the treasures of gold and silver and precious stones, or the great cities of the East for which he was searching.

Out from the harbor of Palos, Spain, sailed the three tiny vessels of Columbus on their momentous voyage. A comparison of this map with the one on page 39 will show that the new land which Columbus found was near where he expected to find the East Indies.

A further misfortune was the wrecking of his largest ship on Christmas day. From its timbers rude shelters were constructed on the coast of Haiti. Forty of his men were left there to establish the first colony in America when Columbus set sail for Spain. After a stormy voyage he reached Palos in March, 1493. He was hailed with enthusiasm by the Spanish, and loaded with honors by the king and queen, who supposed that he had really found the new route to India.[1]

[1] To be sure there were some who doubted and others who belittled the exploit of Columbus. According to a story which has often been told, one day at a dinner, a guest remarked that he saw nothing very wonderful about discovering the Indies. Columbus picked up an egg and asked, "Can you stand this egg on end?" None of his hearers could do it, until Columbus struck the egg lightly on the table, cracking the shell just enough to make it

Later Voyages. Columbus made three other voyages (1493, 1498, 1502), to the coast of what he still supposed was Asia or its outlying islands. But he never found the great wealth of the East nor the vast stores of gold and silver which were later to enrich the Spanish rulers.

Death of the Great Navigator. It was between the second and third of Columbus's voyages that Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal from his successful voyage to India around the south of Africa. (See page 36.) His success dimmed the glory of Columbus's achievement, especially because Columbus had not found rich treasures nor populous cities. The Spanish king and queen lost all interest in him. He was neglected, and in spite of his great services, died in wretched poverty. Even after his death it was years before the Spanish people accorded him the honor which was his due. Today he is counted among the great men of the world, and the Spanish are proud to claim him as one of their national heroes.

The Unknown World. In his famous voyage of 1492, Columbus had only begun the period of discovery. The real finding of America was the work of many men, who during the next two hundred years slowly and patiently traced the coast line of the New World and explored the interior of the great new continent. At first, of course, no one guessed that a new world had been discovered. Columbus, like the rest, believed that he had found a new route to India, and that the islands he had visited were off the coast of Asia. He died without realizing the real glory of his achievement.

Voyages of the Cabots. Other men followed the way marked out by Columbus. When the news of his discovery reached England, an Italian merchant named John Cabot was living in an English seaport. He was sent out by the king with one small ship and eighteen men and landed on the mainland of North America somewhere near Labrador (1497). He supposed he had reached China. The next year his son, Sebastian Cabot, dis-

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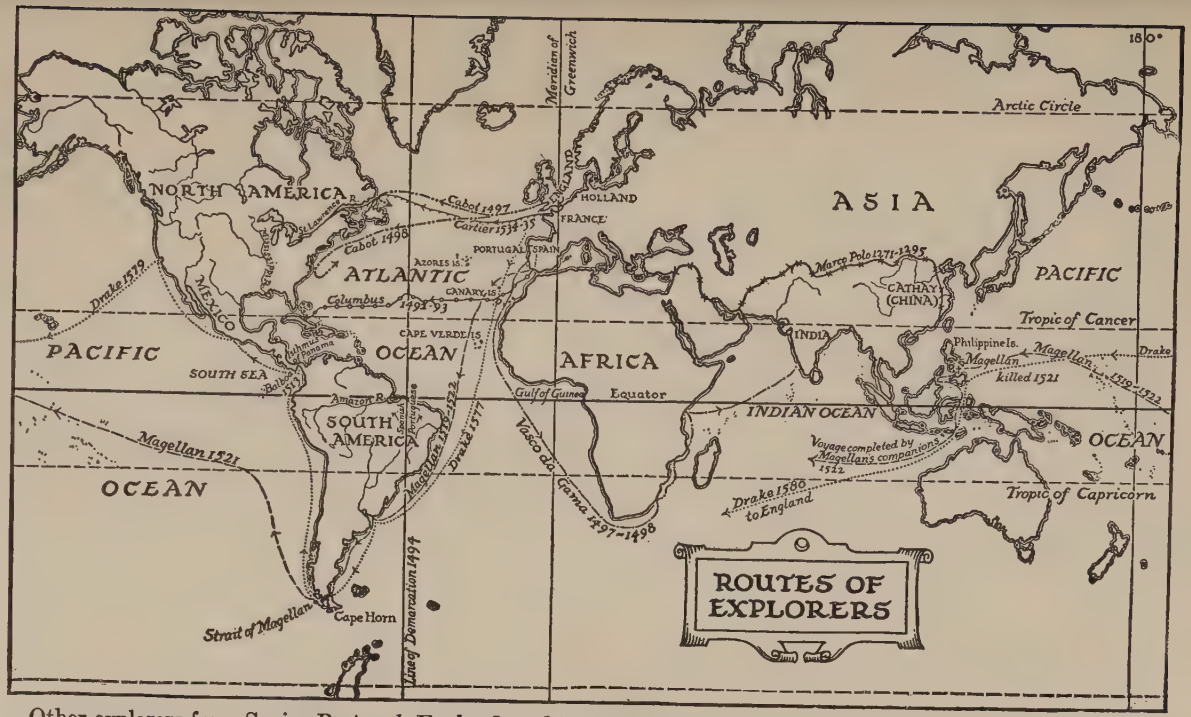
stand upright. Everyone laughed to see how easily it was done. "Just so easily anyone could discover the Indies after I have shown the way," said Columbus.

covered the wonderful fishing grounds off the coast of Newfoundland and so opened the way to the very profitable industry of fishing for cod. It was over a hundred years before the real importance of these discoveries was understood. They gave England the basis for her claim to the North American mainland.

The Naming of America. Meantime, several Spanish captains were exploring the northern and eastern coasts of South America, searching for pearls and other riches. An Italian commercial agent, named Americus Vespucius, was present on one of these expeditions. He wrote an account of the voyage in which he said, "I have found a continent in that southern part; more populous and full of animals than our Europe, or Asia, or Africa, and even more temperate and pleasant than any other region known to us." This account fell into the hands of a map maker at the French school of St. Dié, who made a map showing South America connected to Asia by an isthmus, and suggested that inasmuch as this New World had been found by Americus it should be named America, in his honor. At first the name was applied only to South America, but after it became clear that the New World was not Asia, the name was given to both continents.

Early French Explorations. The French king also wished to have a share in the newly discovered lands. So he sent out Verrazano, another Italian sea captain, who explored the eastern coast of North America and gave France a claim to a part of the northern continent. A few years later a Frenchman named Cartier, trying to find the way through to China, sailed up the St. Lawrence river as far as the rapids above Montreal. French fishermen soon began to make regular expeditions to the coast of Newfoundland to engage in fishing.

The Discovery of Balboa. Gradually the explorers of the American coasts became convinced that what they had found was really a new continent. In 1513, Balboa, a Spaniard, who was exploring the Isthmus of Panama, saw from a mountain top a great sea spread out before him. He pushed through the tropical jungle until he reached the seashore. Here he waded into the water with the royal banner in his hand and took possession of



Other explorers from Spain, Portugal, England, and France set out to follow Columbus. They were all seeking India and the Spice Islands. Gradually they learned that the new land west of the Atlantic was a new continent which barred their way. Magellan and afterward Drake found a way around its southern extremity and sailed around the world.

the ocean and all unclaimed lands on which it bordered, in the name of the king of Spain. He named it the South Sea. What he had found was, of course, the Pacific Ocean. This discovery made it pretty certain that South America, at least, was really a new continent.[1]

The Accomplishments of Magellan. It remained for Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in the service of the king of Spain, to prove beyond any doubt that the New World was not Asia. Magellan believed that the rich spice islands of the East Indies could be reached by going around the southern end of South America. With a little fleet of five ships he set out to test his theory. He explored southward along the coast of South America, constantly looking for an opening through to the South Sea. He wintered on the southeastern coast, and early the next spring found the strait since called Magellan, through which he sailed cautiously for five weeks until he came out upon the great western ocean. Then for days and weeks and months the expedition sailed steadily westward over the greatest of oceans, which Magellan named the Pacific because he found it so free from storms. But the supply of food and water gave out, and death from starvation seemed certain. When hope was almost gone, the little fleet of ships chanced upon an island abounding in fruit, vegetables, and wild game, and the men were saved. A few days later the expedition reached the Philippines where Magellan was killed by the natives. One of his ships, however, found the Spice Islands, sailed across the Indian Ocean, around the southern end of Africa, and so home to Spain.[2] By this voyage (1519–21) Magellan's expedition proved, by sailing all the way around, that the earth was really a sphere. It also proved that America was a new continent to the west of which lay a much greater ocean than the one which separated it from Europe.

The Wonders of the New World. It was a wonderful New World which Columbus and those who followed him discovered.

[1] Balboa also deserves mention for being the first to suggest the advantages of a canal at Panama.

[2] The captain of the Victory sold the cargo of cloves which he brought back from the Spice Islands for a sum more than sufficient to pay the entire cost of the expedition.

Although they were at first disappointed in not finding great cities and stores of gold and silver, nevertheless this New World had rich treasures and wonderful resources of its own which have become much more valuable than the coveted riches of the Indies. As yet no one dreamed that these Americas were to mean opportunity to millions of the poor, the oppressed, and the ambitious of Europe, who were to find in them much better homes than they had ever known in the Old World.

A study of the map of the New World will show that America extends all the way from the cold Arctic [illegible] temperate zone where most [illegible] Canada and the United State[illegible] now are, includes the tropica[illegible] regions of Mexico, Central an[illegible] South America, and reache[illegible] nearly across the south tem[illegible] perate zone to the cold an[illegible] stormy Cape Horn. South America is nearly twice as large as Europe, and North America is even larger. In this new world were treasures of many kinds: a fertile soil capable of producing abundant harvests; great forests of oak and pine and other kinds of trees; uncounted numbers of fish near its shores and in its lakes and streams; and great herds of deer, buffalo, and other wild game in the forests and on the prairies. Wealth beyond the imagination of men lay just beneath the surface in the form of oil, coal, iron, copper, silver, gold, and other important minerals. This wealth of natural resources has played a very great part in the making of our history.

The Indians. America was already inhabited. Columbus, believing he had found the East Indies, called the natives Indians. They were to be found in nearly every part of the New World, although their number was not large. They were often called Red Men because of their copper color. Some of them were savages who wandered from place to place, dwelling in wigwams or

tepees which could be easily moved, and living on such fish and wild game as they could catch. Other tribes had progressed further toward civilization. These cultivated the soil and raised squashes, beans, and corn. Their weapons and tools were made of polished stone. The North American Indians were very fierce and warlike and the tribes were frequently fighting one another.

The Indians of Mexico and Peru were more civilized than the other tribes in America. The Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of

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CHAPTER V

THE LORDSHIP OF THE SEA

I. How Control of the Sea Won Spain an Empire — *Poems, p. 24*

A. Early Spanish settlements — *Hart, p. 6*
1. In West Indies.
2. Reasons for coming to America. — *Southworth, Chap. V*

B. Spanish conquests
1. Conquest of Mexico.
2. Conquest of Peru.

C. Spanish explorations in North America
1. Ponce de Leon.
2. De Soto.
3. Coronado.

D. The Spanish Empire in America
1. Its extent.
2. Settlement at St. Augustine.
3. Slavery in the Spanish colonies. (*a*) Las Casas.

II. The Rivalry between England and Spain — *Poems, p. 34*

A. Religious differences
1. England becomes a Protestant nation.
2. Spain the champion of the Catholics.
3. The revolt of the Netherlands.

B. Commercial rivalry
1. Seeking the Northwest passage.
2. English sea rovers.
3. Sir Francis Drake.

III. The Fight for Control of the Sea — *Fite, pp. 33–37*

A. Why Spain hated England

B. The Spanish Armada
1. Its preparation.
2. The great battle.

C. England the Mistress of the Sea

IV. America Open to Settlements — *Poems, pp. 25, 34*

A. Early English attempts at colonization — *Elson & M., Chap. IX*
1. Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
2. Sir Walter Raleigh.

B. The French in America
   1. Nova Scotia (Acadia).
   2. Quebec.
   3. Champlain.

C. The Dutch explorations
   1. Henry Hudson.

Problems

TOPIC

I. What difference would it have made in our history if Spain had conquered North America as completely as she did South America?

II. Did the English have a right to trade with Spanish colonies against the wishes of Spain?

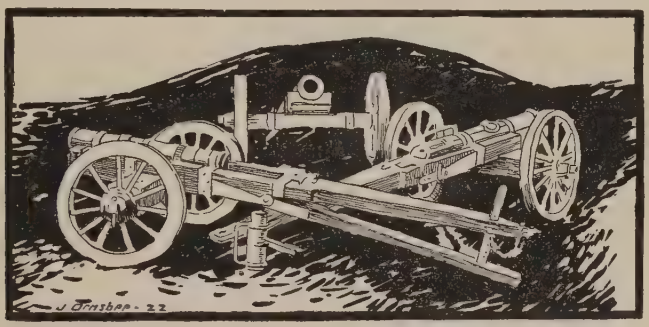
IV. Can you think of any reasons other than those given by Raleigh's friend for founding colonies in America?

First Spanish Settlements. Within fifty years after the date of Columbus's first voyage the Spanish built up a great empire in America. Columbus left forty men on the island of Haiti in 1492 to found the first Spanish colony. (See page 42.) The next year fifteen hundred Spanish crossed the Atlantic to the new country. They took with them horses and cattle; wheat and garden seeds; and most important of all, the sugar cane. Year by year more settlers came, and soon there were several Spanish towns in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica, as well as in Haiti. During all this period, Spanish control of the sea was so complete that very few ships of other nations dared to sail across the ocean or approach the coasts of the New World, which Spain claimed as hers by right of discovery.

Motives which Encouraged Colonization. All the early comers to the islands in the Caribbean Sea supposed them to be a part of the East Indies, of whose great wealth they had heard wondrous tales. The thirst for gold and the love of adventure were the chief reasons for the coming of the Spanish. There was a third reason, however, which led some of them to leave their homes and come to the New World. For centuries Spain had been fighting for the cause of the church, fighting to drive the Mohammedans out of Western Europe. The Spanish had come to look upon themselves as the chief defenders of the Christian

religion; and the missionary spirit was to be found in even the roughest of warriors. One of Queen Isabella's reasons for aiding Columbus was to win the inhabitants of these far-away lands to the Christian faith. And the rough and sometimes wicked Spanish explorers, amidst their mad search for gold, tried to convert the red men to Christianity.

The early settlements were not very prosperous. The climate was unhealthful and there was much sickness. Furthermore, the colonists were too busy searching for gold to have much time for cultivating the soil, especially after rumors began to arrive of great stores of gold in Mexico and Peru.



Cortes used such cannon as these in the sixteenth century.

The Conquest of Mexico. When men came back from their explorations of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico with tales of a people who lived in cities which had paved streets, great temples, and an abundance of gold, there was intense excitement among the Spanish colonists. The governor of Cuba sent an expedition under Cortez to win Mexico for the Spanish. Cortez set out from Cuba with eleven ships, six hundred soldiers, eighteen horses, and a few cannon (1519). The noise of his firearms, and the sight of his horses and warships, the like of which they had never seen before, frightened the Indians. They looked upon the Spaniards as gods and sent them many presents.

Cortez soon learned that the Aztecs, as the Indians about the City of Mexico were called, were the richest of all the tribes.

Their king, Montezuma, ruled over a great empire. Cortez made friends with some of the tribes who were hostile to Montezuma and marched inland. As they advanced toward the capital city, both Cortez and his men were amazed at the smooth roads over which they traveled and the wonderful cities which they beheld. The City of Mexico was gallantly defended and the Spaniards had to use treachery, as well as their superior military skill and equipment, to effect its downfall. They extended their power far north into California, seized great stores of gold and precious stones from the Indians, and got possession of rich mines in which they forced the conquered people to work as slaves. Spanish ships laden with the captured wealth of the new world created intense interest in Spanish adventurers, and a wild scramble for the riches of America ensued.

THE SPANISH TREATED THE INDIANS BRUTALLY

This early print is supposed to show the Spanish explorers chopping down a tree containing an Indian hut.

The Conquest of Peru. Spanish explorers on the Isthmus of Panama began to hear of the riches of Peru. A bold and cruel Spaniard, named Pizarro, undertook to find and conquer that country. After a long and difficult march he found a city of many thousand people. It was the capital of the Incas, who had the highest civilization of any of the Indians of America. In some respects they were even more advanced than their Spanish conquerors. Pizarro succeeded in subduing Peru and it proved to be the richest of all the Spanish conquests. Other Spanish leaders pushed on until at last most of South America, except Brazil,[1] was included in Spain's empire.

[1] Brazil was explored and settled by the Portuguese. In 1493, just after Columbus's first voyage, the Pope undertook to settle the rival claims of Spain and Portugal to newly discovered lands, by drawing a dividing line from the North Pole to the South Pole. A part of Brazil proved to be east of the line, and so became Portuguese. France and England paid no attention to the Pope's line of demarcation.

Ponce de Leon in Florida. Spanish explorers went not only south and west from Cuba, but also north into the southern part of what is now the United States. One of the earliest of these explorers was Ponce de Leon, who visited the coast of the mainland as early as 1513. He was charmed with the beautiful flowers he saw and named the land Florida, which in Spanish means "flowery."

The Discovery of the Mississippi. Hoping to find gold in Florida, as Cortez had done in Mexico, De Soto headed an expedition of six hundred men to search for it. For three years they wandered through the forests and swamps of our southern states, fighting Indians; but never finding any traces of gold. In 1541, they came upon a great river more than a mile wide, which the Indians called the Mississippi. The Spaniards were not much interested in the discovery of rivers; it was gold they sought. So they crossed the river and for a year searched through what is now Arkansas and Missouri, but still could find no gold. At length, they returned to the banks of the Mississippi, where De Soto fell sick and died. His body was buried at night in the bosom of the wonderful river he had discovered. The few followers who yet remained built rude ships, floated down the river to the gulf, and finally reached Mexico.

The Seven Cities of Cibola. Another expedition of eleven hundred men, headed by Coronado, started from Mexico to find and conquer the seven rich cities of Cibola, which, according to an old Indian legend, were supposed to be somewhere in the north. Instead, they found only the pueblos of the New Mexican Indians. Pushing on northward in search of gold, the expedition reached the plains of Kansas. Coronado finally gave up the search and returned to Mexico. These expeditions were the basis of the Spanish claims to the southern and southwestern part of what later became the United States.

Extent of Spanish Empire in America. By 1550 the Spaniards had won an American empire which, in addition to the part of the United States just mentioned, included the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, and most of South America. For almost three hundred years the king of Spain was the ruler of this great region.

Although these countries no longer belong to Spain, yet the Spanish language, Spanish customs and institutions remain. We often speak of the whole area as Spanish America.

The First Permanent Settlement in the United States. Spanish settlements were scattered all over this vast region. It was the

From the West Indies, the Spanish carried the cross and the sword west into Mexico, south into South America, and north into Florida. The line of demarcation separated the Spanish from the Portuguese.

Spanish who made the first permanent European settlement within what is now the United States, at St. Augustine in Florida in 1565. A colony of French Protestants had settled near that place the year before, but the Catholic Spanish, regarding the French as intruders on Spanish territory, and as heretics who had broken away from the Catholic faith, killed them all, and founded a Spanish colony instead.

The Ministry of Las Casas. The Spanish conquerors and settlers tried to introduce the civilization of Europe into their American empire. They established schools and universities, brought over printing presses from Spain, built churches, and established many mission stations to teach the Christian faith to the Indians. One of the greatest of the Spanish missionaries was a priest in the West Indies named Bartholomew de Las Casas. The Indians were rapidly dying under the harsh treatment they received from the Spanish masters who had enslaved them. The good heart of Las Casas was greatly touched by their sufferings. He began by setting his own slaves free. Then he commenced to preach to the people that their souls were in danger as long as they kept the Indians in bondage. But Las Casas could not secure the abolition of slavery because the Spanish wanted the slaves to work in the mines and on the sugar plantations; and when the Indians died, negro slaves were imported from Africa to take their places.

Rivalry between Spain and England. While the Spanish were building up this vast domain in America, events were taking place in Europe which were destined to check the growth of the Spanish empire and to open up America to settlement by other European nations. As a result, a formidable rivalry was developing between Spain and England, a rivalry which had two causes: religious differences and disputes over trade.

Religious Differences. England was one of the nations in which the Protestant Reformation developed most easily. Even before the days of Luther there had been an English translation of the Bible, and a body of English people who did not accept the idea of the supreme power of the Pope. Henry VIII (1509–1547), although he began his reign as a loyal Catholic, became impatient when the Pope refused to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, his Spanish wife,[1] and forced the English

[1] Catherine had been the wife of Henry's older brother, Arthur, who died before ascending the English throne. The church law of the time forbade a man's marrying his brother's widow, and although the preceding Pope had by a dispensation set aside the law in Henry's case, the king claimed to believe that God was angry with him for his disobedience, and found the proof for this in that he had no son.

parliament to declare him, and not the Pope, the head of the Church in England. Henry married Anne Boleyn, in defiance of the Pope's refusal to grant the divorce, and their daughter, the great Elizabeth, was so staunch a Protestant that in her reign (1558–1603) England was looked upon as the defender of Protestantism in Europe. The Church of England differed from the Catholic in that it did not accept the overlordship of the Pope, and did not have mass or confession. Moreover, it held its services in English and kept copies of the English Bible in every church "for every man that will to read and look therein."

Philip II, who was king of Spain at the same time that Elizabeth was queen of England, was a zealous Catholic and regarded himself as the chief defender of the Catholic faith. He believed it to be his religious duty to force all the Protestants back into the Catholic church or to put them to death as heretics. The Netherlands, which included Holland and Belgium, were then a part of the Spanish empire. There were many Protestants in the Netherlands, and Philip ordered the Spanish governor of that country to stamp out all opposition to the Catholic form of worship. This order led to a great revolt, the Revolt of the Netherlands, which started as a religious war and gradually became a war for independence. The Protestants in England sympathized with the Dutch and many a young Englishman ran away from home to join the army of William the Silent, the Dutch leader. Queen Elizabeth sent money and guns and soldiers to help the Protestants of Holland against the Spaniards. Naturally this made the Spanish hate the English very bitterly, and finally led to war.

Commercial Differences. The other cause of hatred between England and Spain was commercial rivalry. When Elizabeth became queen of England, English commerce was beginning to grow and it increased very rapidly during her reign. Englishmen were constantly hearing marvelous stories of the treasure to be had in the Spanish colonies in America, and they wanted a share of it. The Spanish, of course, wanted to keep all the wealth of the Americas for themselves. They were especially anxious to keep the heretic Englishmen out of their colonies.

To avoid crossing the Spanish Main, English sailors undertook to find a passage to India and China by going north of North America, as Magellan had sailed around the southern end of South America. Martin Frobisher, who discovered the bay that bears his name, spent his life in a vain search for this Northwest Passage which is now known to be so choked with ice that it is useless.

Other bold and daring English sea captains did not heed the Spanish warnings to keep away from the Spanish colonies in America. Instead, they waylaid and captured many a Spanish ship laden with gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Even Queen Elizabeth was willing to lend her aid to these sea rovers and to share in their stolen plunder.[1]

Sir Francis Drake. The greatest of all of them was Sir Francis Drake. On his first expedition he captured a Spanish mule train on the Isthmus of Panama, laden with bars of silver and gold, and jewels from Peru. Most of this booty he succeeded in carrying to England. In 1577, carrying out a long-cherished plan, he steered his ship around Cape Horn into the Pacific. Following up the west coast of South America, he plundered Spanish settlements and captured several Spanish vessels bearing precious cargoes. Then he sailed northward along the west coast of North America, and finally headed westward across the Pacific. At length he reached England by way of the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. Thus the English flag was the second to encircle the globe.

Drake continued his depredations on Spanish possessions. On one voyage, with a fleet of twenty-five ships and a force of twenty-five hundred men, he captured three Spanish cities in the West Indies and held them for ransom. Of course these were acts of war, and very greatly increased the hatred of the Spanish against the English.

[1] One of the most daring of these sea-dogs was John Hawkins, who had many a fight with the Spanish. In spite of repeated warnings he persisted in going to the Spanish colonies to trade. At last the king of Spain sent a whole fleet of ships to capture him. They found him in the harbor of Vera Cruz in Mexico, and one of the fiercest fights of that warlike age took place. Hawkins was defeated, but succeeded in escaping.

The Inevitable War. There were really numerous causes for war. The religious differences between the two countries, the ardent desire of the king of Spain to make England a Catholic country, Spanish resentment against the English for the help given the plucky Hollanders in their fight for freedom, the growing commercial rivalry between England and Spain, the buccaneering expeditions of such men as Drake, all these combined to increase the hatred between the Spanish and the English. Spain was regarded as the foremost nation of Europe and the whole future of England, as well as the destiny of America, depended upon the result of the war which had now become inevitable.

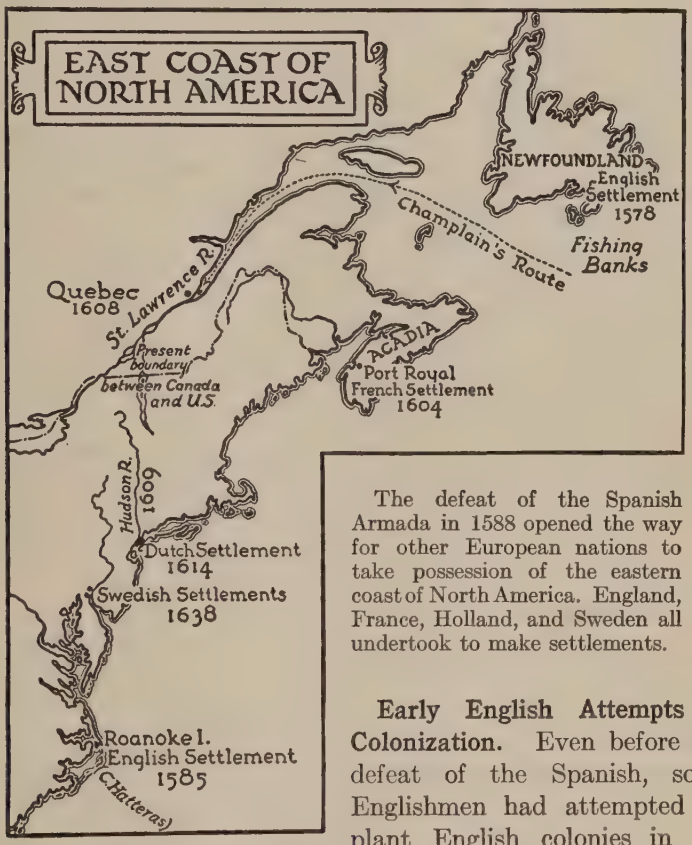
The Invincible Armada. In 1587, King Philip began to gather a great fleet with which to crush the English heretics and pirates.

The Spanish Armada in Action

Early the next summer the Invincible Armada, as the Spanish named their fleet, set sail for England. It was a grand fleet of 130 ships manned with 8000 sailors, and carrying nearly 20,000 soldiers. The Spanish vessels outnumbered the English four to one, but the English ships were faster and carried better guns with a longer range. When the fleets came together in the English Channel, the little English boats darted in and out among the huge awkward ships of Spain, and the sailors of Queen Elizabeth completely outclassed the soldier-sailors of Philip in both seamanship and marksmanship. Blazing fire boats were sent among the Spanish vessels, and when, to escape this peril, the Spanish captains attempted to run for the open sea, a fearful storm arose and fought on the side of the English. This completed the destruction, and only a few of the vessels survived to take back to Spain the dismal news of the failure.

England the Mistress of the Seas. The defeat of the Armada marked the downfall of Spain. A few years later brave little Holland, who had been fighting for thirty years, secured her

independence. Moreover, the Dutch captured and kept the most valuable of the Spanish possessions in the East Indies. The great sea power which had belonged to Spain now passed to England, and hers was to be the most important influence in determining the settlement of North America.



The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 opened the way for other European nations to take possession of the eastern coast of North America. England, France, Holland, and Sweden all undertook to make settlements.

Early English Attempts at Colonization. Even before the defeat of the Spanish, some Englishmen had attempted to plant English colonies in the New World. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the first to undertake an American settlement. In 1583 he made an unsuccessful effort to found a colony on the island of Newfoundland. On the voyage back to England, Gilbert's ship sank in the midst of a furious storm and all on board were lost.

His half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, next undertook the work of planting colonies. A friend of Raleigh's wrote an essay on reasons for such attempts in America, which has been summed up in the following words:

"Such colonies will enlarge the occasions and facilities for driving Spanish ships from the Newfoundland fisheries and capturing Spanish treasure on its way from Mexico and the Isthmus of Darien. They will be serviceable as stations toward the discovery and use of the northwest passage to Cathay. After a while they will furnish a valuable market for the products of English industry, especially woolen and linen clothes. They will increase the royal revenue by customs duty. They will relieve England of its idlers and vagrants by finding occupations for them abroad."

Moved by such reasons, Sir Walter Raleigh sent Ralph Lane in 1585 with a hundred men to settle on Roanoke Island on the coast of what is now North Carolina. Trouble with the Indians and lack of food forced the abandonment of the colony, and the starving men returned to England. Two years later, Raleigh sent another colony to Roanoke Island. The leader, George White, returned to England for supplies. The war with Spain detained him for three years. When at last he returned to America no trace of the colony could be found, and it was not until twenty years later that the first permanent English settlement was established in America.

Beginnings of French Colonization. In the meantime, however, the French began to take advantage of the Spanish defeat. For many years the French had been coming to the shores of Newfoundland for fish. In 1604 they established a settlement at Port Royal in Acadia (now Nova Scotia). One of the French colonists, Champlain, sailed up and down the coast, and explored the interior. In 1608 he traveled up the St. Lawrence river and established a settlement at Quebec, where for many years he lived and traded with the Indians.

The Dutch on the Hudson. At about the same time the Dutch began to reach out toward America. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of Holland, sailed up the Hudson

river, and the Dutch immediately laid claim to the territory in that vicinity. A few years later they began to make settlements. On another voyage, while searching for the Northwest Passage, Hudson discovered the great bay which is named for him.

The Passing of Spanish Supremacy. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, therefore, the defeat of the Spanish had opened the way for the other nations of Europe to make settlements in America. The English, the French, and the Dutch were quick to take advantage of this opportunity.[1] The Spanish empire in America never grew any larger after she lost control of the sea. In the years that followed, the sturdy English, who had broken the great power of Spain, proved to be the most successful in building up permanent settlements in the New World.

THE CHAMPLAIN PICTURE OF THE FIRST HOUSES BUILT IN QUEBEC

[1] Sweden was the only other European nation that attempted new world colonization, but she chose the Delaware coast for her effort and the Dutch, who claimed this territory, soon seized the settlement.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONY

I. The Colonization Motive

A. In the Old World

B. Formation of trading companies
   1. Extent of land claims.
   2. Provisions for government.

C. Why the English wanted colonies
   1. As a market for English goods.
   2. To establish their claim to America.

D. Character and motives of the first settlers

II. The First Settlement — *Fite, pp. 38, 39*; *Poems, p. 38*

A. The place

B. Hardships

C. John Smith

D. The "starving time"

III. The Dawn of Prosperity — *Fite, p. 40*

A. Coming of Lord Delaware

B. Tobacco culture

C. Results in Virginia
   1. Plantation system.
   2. Labor problems.
   3. Slavery.

D. Beginning of representative government

E. Establishment of homes

IV. Virginia a Royal Colony — *Fite, pp. 40, 41*

A. Why it became royal

B. Coming of the cavaliers

C. Spirit of the cavaliers

Problems

TOPIC

I. Why was the Virginia Company divided?

II. If you had been one of the first settlers of Virginia, what would you have done to avoid starving with the others?

IV. What reasons would lead a Cavalier who has just learned of the death of King Charles I to think about Virginia as a future home?

Exercise: Write a conversation between Colonel Byrd, a Virginia tobacco planter, and Edward Johnson, an indentured servant who has just finished his term of service, and whom Colonel Byrd wishes to employ.

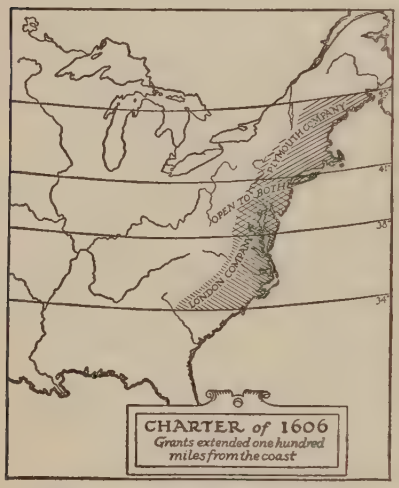
English Planned Permanent Settlements. Our country is English today in language, customs, and laws, because the English people, early in their experience as a colonizing nation, learned that the way to develop a country was to make it a land of homes. Unlike the Spanish who chiefly wanted gold, or the French who wanted to hold the territory for a future empire, or even the Dutch, whose first thought was the establishment of trading posts, the English, almost from the beginning, planned to make permanent settlements.

The Trading Company as a Colonizer. Sir Walter Raleigh's dream of establishing colonies in the new land beyond the sea had proved too big an undertaking for one man. Some other agency of settlement must be discovered. Today when a great enterprise is to be begun, a group of men organize a company or corporation for that purpose. The custom is an old one. English merchants of the seventeenth century were familiar with it, for their trading companies had been very successful in carrying on a great commerce with the East Indies.

The Virginia Company. It was natural then that a group of such men should take up the idea of establishing a colony in the New World and should organize a company for that purpose. Several merchants living in London and Plymouth succeeded in getting a charter from King James I which gave them the right to make settlements in Virginia, a territory which stretched along the Atlantic coast from the St. Croix river, in the north, to the middle of what is now South Carolina (from the forty-fifth to the thirty-fourth parallels).

The Division of the Original Company. Later the group divided into two organizations, the London Company and the

Plymouth Company. They persuaded the king to divide the original grant. To the London Company was given the exclusive right to the southern part of this grant, while the Plymouth Company received the right to make settlements in the northern part. A strip between the two was reserved as a reward for the company which proved to be the more active in promoting settlement.

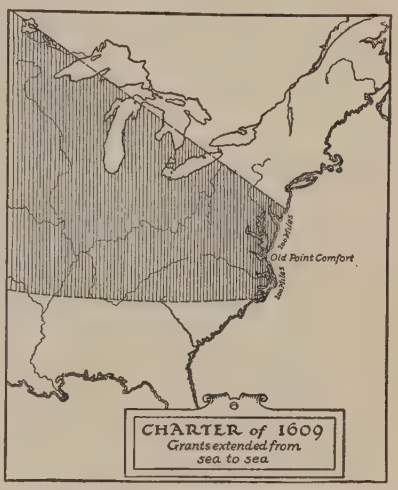


By the charter of 1606, King James I granted a large part of the eastern coast of North America to the London and Plymouth Companies. Both of them planned settlements and the London Company succeeded in founding a permanent colony at Jamestown.

Government of Company. The London Company soon made its preparations to send out a colony. Its charter provided that the members of the company should select thirteen of its first settlers to serve as a governing council in all matters of local concern in the New World, while those matters which affected the whole company should be managed by a larger council whose members remained in England.

Motives Leading to Colonization. The London Company's first problem was to find settlers. The company merchants themselves wished to establish a colony in the New World to which they might send their wares and from which they might secure the raw materials that were needed at home. They expected to pay the expenses of founding the colony and later to gain a large profit from this trade. The king was eager to have a share in that continent which had brought such wealth and political power to Spain, and believed that a colony would help to establish unquestioned English ownership of North America. But neither of these motives was powerful enough to make people willing to leave their homes and brave the dangers and hardships of an unknown

wilderness. To them the love of adventure and the desire for wealth were more powerful attractions. Strange and extravagant stories were told about this new world, and men believed that silver and gold and precious stones were to be had for the gathering. "Why man, all their dripping pans are pure gold, and all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold chains; and for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore!" one account read. In England there was a great deal of poverty, even among the nobility;[1] and the lure of wealth in America dazzled their eyes and led them on.



In 1609 a new charter granted to the London Company the "land 200 miles north and south of Point Comfort, lying from the seacoast up into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest." The map shows how Virginia interpreted this grant.

The First Immigrants. The desire to make homes for themselves in the new world stirred very few of the 105 immigrants who set out to establish what proved to be the first permanent English colony in America. Only twelve were laborers, some were soldiers and servants, while over half were gentlemen adventurers. There were no women or children.

The First Settlement. In the spring of 1607 three tiny vessels bearing these bold pioneers reached the Virginia coast, and sailed up a river they named the James. A low-lying peninsula was selected as the site of their first settlement, which was named Jamestown. Instead of getting to the serious work of making

[1] An English law gave all the estate, on the death of the head of the family, to the oldest male heir. The younger sons of the nobles were "gentlemen," according to the thought of the time, and as such were not supposed to work, although they had no income.

homes, they immediately scattered to look for the fabled riches. All the food was put in a common storehouse, and from this everyone could draw rations. Since there was little effort made to add to the stores brought from England, starvation soon faced the settlers. In addition the location proved unhealthful, the water supply was contaminated, malaria developed, and it seemed but a question of time until death by starvation or disease should wipe out another English attempt at an American colony.

Captain John Smith as Leader. The man who saved the day was Captain John Smith, a brave warrior and a bold and skillful leader. He had two faults that kept him out of any place of

JAMESTOWN IN 1622

power at the beginning of the settlement. One was the fact that he was not of noble birth, which made him unpopular with the "gentlemen," the other was that he was a great boaster, which made him unpopular with everyone. But in the days of their deep distress he was the only man capable of saving the colony, and he was made the president of the council. He at once made the rule, "He who will not work shall not eat." Hunger overcame laziness, and a desire for food overcame any tendency to waste time hunting for treasure.

Under Captain Smith's wise leadership, friendly relations were established with the Indians, and with their help a beginning of agriculture was made. Even the "gentlemen" learned to till the ground. Little by little, the colony grew. Exploring expeditions up and down the coasts and to the interior were under-

taken, and Captain Smith made maps of these that were very valuable to later settlers.

"The Starving Time." All this wise enterprise stopped suddenly when Smith was so severely injured by an accidental gunpowder explosion that he was forced to return to England. The settlers returned to their former foolish habits, and the next winter Virginia had what the colonists called "The Starving Time." Of the five hundred men in the colony in October only sixty were left in June. These became so discouraged that they finally built a raft, and with provisions enough for only two weeks were planning to try the hopeless task of following the coastline north to Newfoundland, where they supposed there was another English settlement. At the mouth of the James river they met three English ships bringing supplies, new settlers, and a new governor, Lord Delaware. Jamestown was saved.

Tobacco Culture Begun. The strict government and wise distribution of land introduced by Lord Delaware helped to bring prosperity to the colony. Just at this time John Rolfe[1] was experimenting with the raising of a queer weed which the Indians called tobacco, and which years before Sir Walter Raleigh had introduced into England as a curiosity. In 1612 Rolfe shipped to London a quantity of the tobacco which he had raised. Smoking became a fad: the use of tobacco spread rapidly, in spite of the bitter opposition of King James. All England wanted to smoke, and Virginia had found its treasure. The colonists gave up their vain search for gold and pearls and spices, and settled down to the sober money-making business of raising tobacco. So insistent became the demand for the "weed" that it was grown even in the streets of Jamestown. A better class of settlers began to come and the settlements stretched back into the interior. Along every tidewater river and every arm of the sea tobacco plantations were brought under cultivation, of a size limited only by the amount of labor each owner could secure. Tobacco had become the "dollar bush" of Virginia. Such large plantations meant a sparsely settled population and one particularly open to

[1] John Rolfe is best known in history because of his marriage to the Indian princess Pocahontas.

Indian attacks. These came frequently in Virginia's early history, and checked the growth each time, though only for a little while. The lure of prosperity proved an attraction too powerful to be offset by any danger.

Labor Problems. The greatest problem of the Virginia plantation owners was that of securing labor. Land was cheap. Any free adult male might get a grant of fifty acres and could easily find ways to get more. At first the plan of indentured servants was tried, by which ambitious people sold themselves into servitude for a term of years in order to get transportation from England to the new colony. When these people had finished

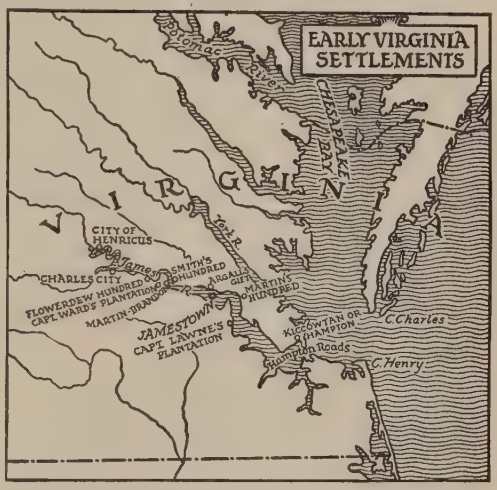
Slaves Rolling Tobacco to the Wharf

their term of service they took up land and proceeded to grow "dollar bushes" for themselves.

Slavery Introduced. Criminals, too, were often taken from English prisons and sent to the New World to work out their terms. Their labor was neither good nor permanent. In 1619 another answer to the problem was discovered. Twenty negro slaves were brought from the West Indies and sold in Jamestown. These unfortunates could never serve out their terms, they could never become plantation owners, and yet they were capable of doing the simple work of the tobacco fields. Negro slaves were soon in great demand. The dark thread that was to disfigure the fabric of our national life had made its appearance in the pattern. It was to mar the design for many a year to come.

The First Representative Assembly. That same year saw another very important happening. Sir George Yeardley came out as the new governor of the colony, and brought with him a

law that gave the colonists local self-government. All Virginia, and by this time it stretched far beyond the first little Jamestown settlement, was divided into eleven districts called boroughs. Each of these districts was to elect two men who should go to the capital at Jamestown, and there this "House of Burgesses" was to make the laws that should govern all the local affairs of the colony. This was the great gift of Virginia to our form of government today, for here we have the first representative assembly in America.



In 1619 the first representative assembly in America met in the little church at Jamestown. Two citizens (burgesses) came from each plantation or settlement, all of which are shown on the map.

Homes Established. The colony of Virginia was prospering. By 1619 its population was estimated at 4000. Its tobacco exportation was growing steadily. Its men were self-governing, and so, self-respecting; but happy homes were not to be found in the Virginia colony. As yet the population consisted almost wholly of men. No women and no children meant no families. The only successful foundation for a colony is a group of homes. Realizing this, the London Company persuaded ninety young women to try the dangerous trip to the far-off land. The settlers met these young women, and before long all of them were married. In each case the husband paid the passage cost of his wife in tobacco. The first English colony in America was assured of success. Homes had been established.

Virginia a Royal Colony. However much the colony itself might grow, the London Company never found it a profit-

producing enterprise. Moreover King James grew dissatisfied with the independent attitude of the resident council in England and with the spirit of independence which was fast developing in the colony. Finally he demanded the surrender of the London Company's charter and Virginia became a royal colony. This meant no change in the local government other than the direct appointment by the king of all important officers. The other Stuart kings who followed James were so busy with government troubles at home that Virginia received very little attention from them, and prospered because of this very neglect. New settlers came from time to time. This was especially true between 1648 and 1660 when the population of Virginia increased from 16,000 to 33,000. The reason for this was a civil war in England between the King's friends, or Royalists, and the Puritans. The Royalists were defeated, King Charles I was beheaded, and Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan leader, gained control of the English government. As a result, many Royalists, or "Cavaliers," came with their families to Virginia.

Ruins of the Jamestown Church
The city was burned in 1676, and never rebuilt.

The "Cavaliers" as Colonists. These newcomers became the great planters and slave owners of the colony. Among them were the ancestors of George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, and of many other families famous in our history. The Cavaliers cared little or nothing about the education of the poorer people, and we find little interest in public schools in Virginia. A college called *William and Mary* was established in 1693 for higher education, but this was especially for the sons of the wealthy planters.

The great public interest of Virginia was in politics. These well-born Englishmen had enjoyed political rights and privileges at home and could see no reason for not having them in an English colony. Their struggle to get and keep these rights added much to the movement which was finally to result in our national independence.

CHAPTER VII

FROM OLD ENGLAND TO NEW ENGLAND

I. Exiles for Religious Causes — *Fite, pp. 43, 44*

- A. Lack of religious toleration in England — *Poems, p. 60*
  1. Puritans and Separatists.
- B. Pilgrims leave England
  1. In Holland.
  2. Arrive at Plymouth.
- C. How Plymouth Colony was governed
  1. Mayflower Compact.
- D. Early hardships and later prosperity

II. Exiles for Political Causes

- A. Attempt of Charles I to rule without Parliament
  1. Opposition of Puritans. — *Van Loon, pp. 280–281*
  2. Have kings a divine right?
- B. Massachusetts Bay Colony founded — *Fite, pp. 46, 47*
  1. The charter.
  2. The great immigration.
  3. Puritans become Congregationalists.
- C. How Massachusetts was governed
  1. Town meeting.
  2. Representative government.
  3. Interest in education.

III. Other New England Colonies Founded — *Poems, pp. 72, 80*

- A. Rhode Island — *Southworth, Chap. XI*
  1. Religious intolerance in Massachusetts.
  2. Roger Williams founded Providence.
  3. His religious attitude.
  4. The exile of Anne Hutchinson.
- B. Connecticut
  1. Hooker and the Connecticut Valley.
  2. New Haven.

IV. Relations with the Indians — *Southworth, Chap. XII*

- A. Friendliness of the Pilgrims — *Poems, p. 60*
- B. John Eliot
- C. Wars and Massacres
- D. The New England Confederation
- E. King Philip's War

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

I. Would the Pilgrims have used slave labor if they had established their colony on the Virginia coast?

II. What difference would it make in governing Massachusetts Bay colony to have the charter in America?

What effect would the annual town meeting have in developing a love for local self-government?

III. Give a defense of the Puritans for their lack of toleration of other religions than their own.

IV. If the settlers had always treated the Indians kindly, would it have been possible to live at peace with them?

English Puritans. Exiles from old England who were seeking liberty to worship God in the way they believed to be right made the beginnings of New England. In Queen Elizabeth's day England was a Protestant country, and the majority of Englishmen were Protestants. But the Church of England was still an established church, to which every Englishman was expected to belong, and for the support of which he was compelled to pay tithes. There were many people in England, however, who were not satisfied with the English Church. Some wished to " purify " it by doing away with the ceremonies which had been retained from the Catholic ritual and by removing the images from all places of worship. These " purifiers," or Puritans, as they were called, were not opposed to a state church, nor to the authority of bishops. They simply wished to reform the church in accordance with their ideas of what was right and proper.

Separatists. Another group of religious reformers wished to go even further. They asserted the right of each church or congregation to adopt its own form of worship and choose its own preacher and officers. These people were known as Separatists.

Religious Intolerance of the Period. The time of Queen Elizabeth was a period of religious intolerance. The Reformation had been followed in Europe by a series of terrible religious wars between Protestants and Catholics. Bitter hatred was a result, and men feared and distrusted those whose religious beliefs were different from their own. Persecutions of Protestants by

Catholics, and of Catholics by Protestants were common. In England, Puritans and Separatists were dealt with almost as severely as were Catholics. James I, who succeeded Queen Elizabeth, was even more intolerant than she had been. He was especially proud of his position as head of the church and determined to uphold its power. As for those who criticized it, he declared, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

The Pilgrims in Holland. The king's threat was made good.

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DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM DELFT HAVEN, IN HOLLAND

A Separatist congregation at Scrooby, England, suffered so much at the hands of the king's officers that its members fled to Holland hoping to find a haven of refuge. Holland had just secured her independence from Spain; and there the Pilgrims, as the wanderers were now called, found relief from religious persecution. But they were not satisfied with their homes in Holland. They found it difficult in a foreign country to make a decent living; they feared to lose their language, and did not wish their children to adopt the customs of the Dutch. Their leaders began to look

toward America as a land where they might keep their nationality and work out their ideals in peace. Permission was secured from the London Company to establish a settlement on the Delaware river.

The Settlement at Plymouth. Accordingly, a company of Pilgrims left Holland, stopped for a farewell visit in England, and in the autumn of 1620 set sail in the gallant little Mayflower for the new home in America. The ship, buffeted by storms and driven from its course, anchored at length in Cape Cod bay, instead of the more kindly waters of the Delaware on whose shores they had planned to land. It was December before the Pilgrims selected a place of settlement at Plymouth. Here in the teeth of a stern New England winter they erected their first rude structure, the log meeting-house, which furnished only scant protection against the storms and the cold.

Early Hardships and Successes. Their hardships were so severe that spring found over half a hundred new graves on the hillside, — graves which the survivors sowed with wheat to conceal from the watchful Indians the fact that death had taken such a toll from the Pilgrim band. So many of the settlers had been ill that, at one time, only William Brewster, their minister, Miles Standish, a famous soldier, and five other men were well enough to get about. With the coming of milder weather food supplies became plentiful. Venison, wild fowl, and fish were easy to obtain. Friendly Indians taught the Pilgrims how to grow Indian corn, and the summer gave them a plentiful harvest from the land which they cleared and planted. When provisions and fuel for the second winter had been laid in, Governor Bradford appointed a day of Thanksgiving, the first in the history of America. In the years that followed, other colonists came to Plymouth, and several other

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THE MAYFLOWER IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR

towns were established. The colony grew slowly and never became large; twenty years after the first Pilgrims came, there were only three thousand people in the entire settlement.

Plymouth a Self-Governing Colony. The first steps toward providing a government for the colony were taken before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. In the cabin of the Mayflower a compact was drawn up and signed, by which the men agreed to establish an orderly government and abide by its rules. The Pilgrims had no charter from the king, and their government never received royal sanction. Plymouth was, therefore, a self-governing colony. The method was simple enough. All the men of the colony gathered together in town meeting, chose their officers, and made such laws and regulations as seemed necessary. The business of government was carried on quietly and without confusion. After the death of John Carver, the first governor, the voters chose William Bradford, who for more than thirty years served as governor of Plymouth colony. In 1691, Plymouth became a part of Massachusetts Bay colony, its neighbor to the north, which by that time had become much larger and more powerful.

Puritans Influenced by Political Motives. The founders of Plymouth came to America primarily for religious reasons: they wanted a place where they could worship God as they saw fit. The settlers of Massachusetts Bay colony were influenced to seek new homes on the western shores of the Atlantic by several reasons. The most important of these were political.

The High-handed Methods of Charles I. In 1625, Charles I succeeded his father, James I, as king of England. He was a strong-willed king, and during the first three years of his reign quarreled almost continually with Parliament over the levying of taxes and other matters. Meantime, the condition of the Puritans had grown steadily worse. Instead of reforming the Church of England to meet the demands of the Puritans, the leaders of the church were making changes in exactly the opposite direction. Apparently the Puritans had a majority in Parliament, and they were very hopeful. In 1628, Parliament adopted a Petition of Right, in which the rights of the people and the power of Parlia-

In the cabin of the Mayflower, on November 21, 1620, the "Mayflower Compact" was signed by each adult male on board, except the servants, and two hired seamen. It recognized the authority of the king, but formed a "civil body politic" for administering the affairs of the colony, and is often called the first "constitution" made by the people for the people in America.

ment were emphasized anew. At first, Charles grudgingly agreed to the Petition of Right; then suddenly he dismissed Parliament, sent its leaders to prison, and for eleven years undertook to rule with absolute power. Unjust taxes and forced loans were extorted from the people, while the king asserted the divine right to rule without Parliament. So far as men could see, religious reform and political liberty had gone down in common ruin.

The first two colonies in New England were Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. The latter colony laid claim to the region known as Maine and New Hampshire.

The Massachusetts Bay Company Charter. Strangely enough, in the very month in which he dismissed Parliament, Charles I granted a charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company with authority to establish a self-governing colony between the Merrimack and Charles rivers in Massachusetts. For two or three years some of the Puritan leaders had been thinking of America as a future home. In 1628 land had been purchased from the Council of New England (the successor of the original Plymouth Company); and in the same year, sixty settlers under the leadership of John Endicott had gone to Salem where they joined a few survivors of a small fishing settlement already in existence.

Puritan Migrations. So when the king of England began to exercise absolute authority in England, when many Puritan leaders were languishing in prison cells, and when the hope of securing political and religious liberty in England seemed almost gone, the Puritans began to look toward America as a Promised

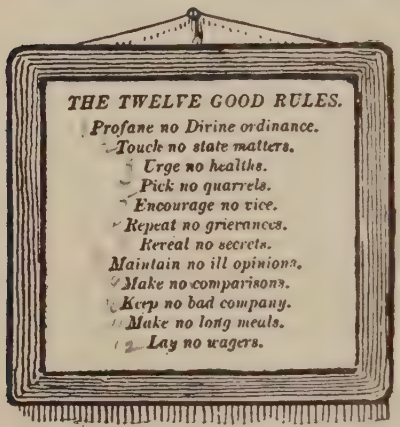
Land. After some months of deliberation, a great company resolved to embark for Massachusetts Bay with all their belongings. In the spring of 1630, under the leadership of John Winthrop, seventeen ships brought two thousand settlers to the shores of New England. John Winthrop succeeded Endicott as governor of the colony. Six new towns, among them Boston and Cambridge, were established. During the eleven years of royal tyranny in England, twenty-five thousand Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay and a large number of new towns grew up.

Power of the Church in New England. The Puritans left the tyranny of old England to secure religious and political liberty in New England. The life of early Massachusetts centered in the church. True, not all the immigrants were Puritans and not all the Puritans were saints. But the ministers and religious leaders were the most influential men in the colony. The churches were supported by taxation; only church members could vote; and the laws were generally based on the Bible. When they left England, the Puritans were not Separatists like the Pilgrims; but after a short time they gave up all connection with the English Church and took the name of Congregationalists. Each little congregation managed its own affairs in its own way; and the distinction between Pilgrims and Puritans soon disappeared.

Government through Town Meetings. From the beginning the Massachusetts Bay colony was a self-governing community. When John Winthrop came over from England he brought with him the charter granted by the king to the Massachusetts Bay Company. A majority of the stockholders of the company came at the same time. Other settlers were admitted from time to time to membership in the company and therefore to a share in the government. Each year the voters of a township held a town meeting and elected officers to preserve peace and maintain order, to manage the school, and to attend to any other town business. The amount of taxes to be collected for the expenses of the town was also determined at the town meeting.[1]

[1] In many parts of the United States, a town means a small city or village. In New England, a town is more properly a township and may contain two or three villages.

A Legislature of Two Houses Established. At first the government of the whole colony, which soon came to have many towns within its borders, was largely in the hands of the governor and the eighteen assistants provided for in the charter. Almost at the beginning of the colony's history, however, the people of Watertown protested against the payment of a tax assessed by this government on the ground that English freemen could not rightfully be taxed save by their own consent. To settle this question of taxes, two deputies or representatives were sent from each town to advise with the governor and the assistants. At first the representatives and assistants met together in a single body. Sharp differences of opinion soon developed between the two groups, in which the representatives were strongly inclined to take the part of the common people. In 1644, therefore, the legislature divided into two houses, the representatives and the assistants. The plan of the English Parliament with its House of Lords and House of Commons thus became the plan of the Massachusetts legislature, and was used generally by other colonies.



These Rules Were Hung on the Walls of Puritan Homes

Education in New England. Success in self-government requires that citizens be educated. Within a few years after their arrival in America, the Puritan fathers provided for public schools. A law was passed requiring each village of fifty families to maintain a school where reading and writing should be taught, and each village of one hundred families to provide for a grammar school. Steps were also taken to establish a college. The first money for the purpose was voted by the legislature in 1636. Two years later John Harvard willed half his property and all his library to the new college, and it was named for him. Other gifts to the

college followed, and *Harvard* has grown to be one of the greatest universities in the world.

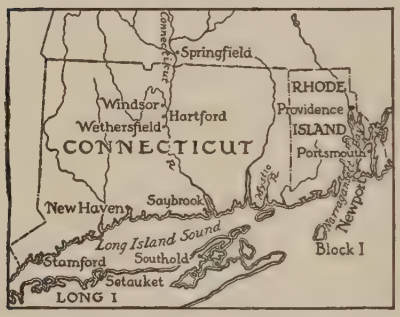
Puritan Colony Source of Many American Ideals of Government. The Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay is of great importance in the history of the nation. Its twenty-five thousand settlers are said to be the ancestors of about a sixth of the population of the United States today. Many of our ideas and ideals of government were first put into practice on American soil by them. The training in self-government which the Massachusetts colonists gained by years of sharing in the work of governing the colony proved of tremendous value at a later date in our history. The plucky resistance of the Puritans to the aggressions of English kings paved the way for the assertion of other rights when the occasion demanded.

Roger Williams a Victim of Puritan Intolerance. The Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay seeking religious and political liberty. Very early in their history, however, they proved themselves incapable of granting the same liberty to those who differed from them. An early cause of discord arose from the teachings of Roger Williams, a very lovable and true-hearted young Welshman, who for a time was pastor of the church at Salem, where he disagreed continually with the Puritan leaders. His ideas involved the complete separation of church and state, equal protection for all forms of religious faith, the repeal of all laws compelling attendance at public worship, and the abolition of all state taxation for the support of the church. These ideas have today been very generally accepted in America and in some other countries; but in the seventeenth century such beliefs were regarded as dangerous. Partly because of these religious views, and partly because he declared that all the land in America belonged to the Indians until bought from them, Williams was ordered to return to England.

Founding of Providence. Before he could be placed aboard ship, however, he escaped into the woods. Here in the company of some Indians he wandered for fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, "not knowing," he tells us, "what bread or bed did mean." The next spring a few followers joined him. Land was

purchased from the Indians and the little band founded Providence, the beginning of the colony of Rhode Island (1636). Here, Williams said, everyone should worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Even Jews, Catholics, and unbelievers were free to come to Rhode Island.

Anne Hutchinson and the Narragansett Bay Settlement. The Massachusetts Puritans continued their intolerance, however. Another noted exile was Anne Hutchinson. She began to teach that obedience to the letter of church laws was not a sufficient test of religious faith unless there was also a real purpose in the heart to serve God. After a long and wordy struggle to check the "misgovernment of a woman's tongue," the rulers of Massachusetts ordered Mrs. Hutchinson to leave the colony. She and her followers purchased an island in Narragansett Bay from the Indians for "forty fathoms of white beads," and founded Newport.



Settlers from Massachusetts Bay founded two other colonies in 1636, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Rhode Island Established. A very liberal charter was secured from the king uniting these settlements into the colony of Rhode Island, and permitting the people to rule themselves in accordance with the will of the majority. Rhode Island has the honor of being the first of the colonies to grant complete religious toleration; and its after history gave splendid proof that religious liberty could go hand in hand with orderly government and good morals.

Thomas Hooker and the Settlement of Hartford. There were others in Massachusetts besides Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson who were not wholly satisfied with the strict government of the colony. Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, preached a great political sermon in which he argued that governments owe their authority to the consent of the

people. This was a new idea in the seventeenth century, and Hooker has been called the "Father of American Democracy." He organized a company of a hundred men, women, and children, and they set out for the fertile Connecticut valley to establish a town in which to try out the democratic ideas of their leader. These courageous pioneers hewed paths through the unbroken forest, and after a two weeks' journey reached Hartford (1636), the site of their future home. This overland "migration" was the forerunner of many similar expeditions. By 1639, over 800 people were living in Hartford and its neighboring towns of Windsor and Wethersfield. In the same year, the freemen of these three towns gathered together and adopted a written constitution for their own government, in accordance with Hooker's teachings. It has been called the first written constitution in the world which actually created a government.

HOOKER'S JOURNEY TO CONNECTICUT

Settlement of New Haven and the Connecticut Charter. While these towns in the Connecticut valley were being settled, a colony was formed at New Haven by a group of London merchants who selected this site because of its good harbor. The New Haven colony grew steadily, and other towns sprang up in the vicinity. In 1662 the towns in the Connecticut valley obtained a charter from the King and the boundaries were so drawn that the New Haven colony was included in his Majesty's province of Connecticut. Under their charter the people of Connecticut governed themselves, choosing their own officers and managing their own affairs. So well did this charter meet their needs that it was not materially changed until long after America became an independent nation.

Relations with the Indians. The English colonists were not the first people to live in New England. The country was already

inhabited by Indians. At first the red men seemed friendly enough. From them the settlers at Plymouth learned how to raise the Indian corn, and some of these native Americans were present at the first Thanksgiving. Some of the settlers tried to teach the Indians and convert them to Christianity. The most noted of these missionaries was John Eliot, who devoted his life to this task.

Misunderstandings between the Indians and the white men gradually led to serious trouble. Not unnaturally the Indians looked with disfavor on the growing numbers of white men who took possession of the most fertile fields and killed or drove away the wild animals which furnished a large share of the Indians' food supply, and the furs which were their chief stock in trade. Several settlers were massacred, and the governor of Massachusetts undertook to punish the Indians by killing many of them, burning their wigwams, seizing their ripe corn, and destroying their property. Such treatment served only to enrage the red men. Soon an Indian war was in progress. The savages killed and scalped men in the fields, or on their way to work; houses were burned, and women and children slain or carried into captivity. An army of colonists was organized, and in one great battle (1637) the entire Pequot tribe was blotted out of existence. This served to secure peace with the Indians for nearly forty years.

The New England Confederation. Constant danger from Indian attacks, as well as danger from the Dutch settlers along the Hudson river and the French along the St. Lawrence, beset the New England colonists on every hand. To protect themselves, therefore, against these dangers, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven formed (1643) a "firm and perpetual league of friendship," which is known as the New England Confederation. Rhode Island was not invited to join, because the Puritan leaders would have no more to do with her than was absolutely necessary.

The Justification of the Confederation. The perpetual league of friendship lasted for forty years. Most of the time it had nothing to do, though it doubtless served to encourage the

settlers and strengthened them against the French and Indians. Once, however, all its resources were desperately needed. In 1675 King Philip, a famous Indian chief, mustered all the strength of the New England Indians in an effort to destroy the English settlements and rescue the hunting grounds of the red men. Hundreds of settlers were surprised and massacred, towns were burned, and the colonists were in constant fear for their lives. After two years of bitter warfare, King Philip and thousands of his followers were slain, and the Indian power in New England was broken. Massacres continued in outlying villages, and travel through the forests remained dangerous for many years. But the New England Confederation had justified its existence; and it pointed the way toward the final union of all the colonies.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROPRIETARY COLONIES

I. Types of Colonial Government — *Hart, p. 21*

- A. Corporate
- B. Royal
- C. Proprietary

II. Maryland — *File, p. 57*

- A. The Proprietor
- B. The Grant
- C. Purpose of settlement
- D. The first settlement
- E. Industry
  1. Effect on development.
  2. On society.

III. New York, New Jersey, and Delaware — *Poems, p. 50*

- A. Discovery and extent
  1. Disappointment of Company.
  2. The new Company.
  3. The patroon system.
- B. The English "Conquest"
  1. Reasons.
  2. Effects. (*a*) On government. (*b*) In New Jersey. (*c*) In Delaware.

IV. Pennsylvania — *Southworth, Chap. XX*

- A. William Penn
  1. Interest in colonization.
  2. Grant.
  3. Treatment of Indians.
- B. Form of Government
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  2. Share in government.
- C. Settlers
- D. Industry

V. Maine and New Hampshire — *File, pp. 52, 53*

- A. Settlements
- B. Maine and Massachusetts
- C. New Hampshire as a separate royal colony

VI. The Carolinas

A. Preliminary settlements

B. The grant
1. The "Lords Proprietors."
2. The "Grand Model."

C. As a royal colony
1. Division.
2. Settlers.
3. Government.
4. Industries.

VII. Georgia *Fite, p. 81*

A. Motives of Oglethorpe
1. Conditions of English debtors.
2. Need for a "Buffer Colony."

B. The first settlements
1. Character of settlers.
2. Handicap of laws.

C. Effect of royal government

Problems

TOPIC

II. Imagine a conversation between a Virginia colonist who is visiting his old home in England in 1634, and a former neighbor who is about to start for Maryland. What advice would the Virginian give?

III. If the Dutch had prepared an adequate defense in case of attack, what effect might it have had on a United States of America?

IV. How would the Scotch-Irish and the Germans have been welcomed as colonists in New England? In Virginia?

Exercise: Draw two outline maps showing the thirteen colonies, indicating on the first the type of government, when founded, and the date, and on the other the type of government in 1775.

Exercise: Make a list of all reasons you find which influenced people of any race or nation to come to America.

The Corporate Colony. The first two English colonies in America, Virginia and Massachusetts, were *corporate colonies*, founded by companies of men, or corporations, which received charters from the king giving them the right to establish governments in certain parts of America. Virginia soon lost her charter and became the first *royal colony*, ruled by a governor and council appointed by the king. Massachusetts, by bringing her charter

to America, became a self-governing colony.[1] When Rhode Island and Connecticut were founded, they received charters from Charles II which made them also self-governing colonies.

The Proprietary Colony. A *proprietary colony* was one in which the king gave to some individual, or group of individuals, the exclusive right to make settlements within a specified area. The rights and duties of the "lord proprietor" were set down in a charter, and this was his deed to the territory. He either governed the territory directly, or through an appointed representative, and granted his colonists as many or as few rights as he chose.

The Catholics in Maryland, the Swedes in Delaware, and the Quakers in Pennsylvania made the beginnings of three important colonies. The heirs of William Penn and Lord Baltimore quarreled over their boundary until two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, ran the present boundary line.

The Royal Colony. All of the new world colonies began their existence either as proprietary or as corporate organizations; but as they grew in wealth and importance, many of them came into a more direct relationship with the crown. When for any reason the proprietor surrendered his charter, and the king appointed the governor and had some direct relationship with the law-making and the courts, the colony was said to be royal.

Distinctions between Different Colonial Types. In the royal colonies, the king himself appointed governors, judges, and other officers. In the self-governing colonies, these officers were elected by such of the people as had the right to vote. In the proprietary colonies the proprietors either acted as the governors, or appointed someone to act for them. In all the colonies, after the earliest

[1] Massachusetts lost her charter in 1684, and became a royal colony.

years, there was a legislature or assembly whose members were elected by the people.

Changes in Forms of Colonial Government. Nine of the thirteen colonies were founded as proprietary colonies, but at the time of the Revolution, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were the only ones remaining in that relationship, and even they, for short periods of time, had been held directly by the king.

Founding of Maryland. Maryland was founded in 1634 under the direction of its proprietor, the second Lord Baltimore. His father, George Calvert, had received a grant to a large territory north of Virginia, unusual in that it named a definite western boundary, a fact that was to be of tremendous importance in the shaping of our nation's history.

George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, 1580–1632. First Lord Proprietor of Maryland.

Religious Toleration. The Calverts were Catholics, and wished to found a settlement where people of their faith would not be handicapped by the laws against "dissenters" which were then in force in England. Consequently Maryland's laws provided for "religious toleration," which meant that any *Christian* might worship as he pleased without impairing his political rights. Thus Maryland and Rhode Island share the very real honor of being the first colonies to recognize a man's right to choose his own way of worshiping God.

Prosperity. St. Marys was the first settlement. So wisely was it managed that no time was wasted hunting cheap riches. The settlers at once began real work. At the end of the first harvest they were able to send a shipload of corn to New England to exchange for salt fish. Maryland had no "starving time."

With a climate and soil so similar to those of Virginia, however, it was not long until the Marylanders turned their atten-

tion to tobacco growing. This crop demanded large fields and so the plantation system was introduced. This, in turn, demanded many laborers, and brought slavery into general use.

The Dutch made the first settlements in what later became New York and New Jersey.

Many of the settlers were of the " Cavalier " type found in Virginia, so a similar social life grew up.

Government. The proprietor appointed a governor and there was a representative assembly which chose a " council " to help make the laws. A great wave of anti-Catholic feeling swept over England about 1689, and Maryland was taken away from Lord Baltimore by the king. It was returned to his successor in 1715 and remained under proprietary rule until the American Revolution.

Explorations of Henry Hudson. The land which later became New York, New Jersey, and Delaware formed a proprietary colony quite unlike that of Maryland. This tract of land was claimed by the Dutch because of the exploration of Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing under the Dutch flag. His object had been to find a way through this great body of land to India. The Dutch East India Company, which financed his expedition, thought of America as simply a stumbling-block across the pathway to the desirable markets of the East.

The Formation of the Dutch West India Company. Because of Hudson's glowing reports about the fertility of the soil along the river he had discovered and named for himself, and because of the fur-trading possibilities of the region, a Dutch West India Trading Company was formed to further new world commerce. This company established New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson, and another trading post at the head of the tide-water,

The way New York appeared in the days when it was New Amsterdam — according to an old print.

where Albany now stands. Trade with the Indians was begun, and prospered in a small way.

The Patroon System. The Dutch government, desiring to establish a stronger hold on this region, which the English were certain to covet, encouraged permanent settlements through a method called the *patroon system.* Any man, who would, at his own expense, bring over to the new world a colony of fifty adults and furnish them with certain agricultural equipment, was to receive a grant of land to be measured by its river frontage, either sixteen miles on one bank of the Hudson, or eight miles on each of the opposite sides. Over this land the " patroon " had almost absolute power. He was both magistrate and execu-

tive officer. Under this system, many Dutch settlers came to "New Netherlands."

The Swedish Settlement on the Delaware. After the land along the Hudson had been occupied, that along neighboring rivers was taken up. The Swedes, anxious to have their part in the colonization of the new world, had made the beginning of a settlement on the Delaware river, but the Dutch drove them out, and

Old Swedish Church, Wilmington, Delaware

During the terrible Thirty Years' War in Europe, Holland and Sweden were allies. Consequently, when the Swedish king undertook to establish a New Sweden in America, in the neighborhood of New Netherlands, the Dutch did not object. The Swedes made several small settlements in what is now Delaware, the chief one being Christina, near the site of Wilmington. However, after the European war ended, Governor Peter Stuyvesant ordered the Swedish settlements seized, on the ground that they had been made on land belonging to Holland. His order was carried out so successfully that very few traces of Swedish attempts at new world colonization remained.

laid claim to all that country also. In addition they seized what we now know as New Jersey, and it became a part of New Netherlands.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant. The most famous Dutch governor of the period was Peter Stuyvesant.[1] He was so arbitrary that the people under him were dissatisfied and restive. They saw their English neighbors on either side having a share in the government, and were anxious for similar privileges.

[1] Peter Stuyvesant was a tyrant. He insisted on absolute obedience, and punished severely, when he could, anything that approached independent thinking. He honestly believed that his way was the best for the whole colony.

Commercial Prosperity of New Netherlands. Even so, the Dutch in America had an advantage over their English neighbors, for Holland, unlike England, allowed her colonies to trade wherever they could find the greatest profit. The broad avenue of the Hudson was a convenient highway into the heart of the fur-producing inland country, while the great harbor at its mouth offered safety and protection to ships from the whole world. Strange sailors and traders met upon New Amsterdam's wharves, and the white sails of commerce brought wealth to its citizens.

English Jealousy. The prosperity of the Dutch colony attracted the covetous eyes of the English. By virtue of Cabot's discoveries, they claimed all the coast of North America, including the region where the Dutch had settled. In fact, several colonial charters included grants to definite parts of this area. Finally in 1664, King Charles II, feeling certain that he was going to have a war with Holland anyway, gave his brother James, Duke of York, the title of "Lord Proprietor" of what was then known as New Netherlands.

The Dutch, busy with trade and commerce, had made no adequate provision to protect their colony in case of attack. Consequently, when the Duke of York appeared suddenly in the New Amsterdam harbor with an English fleet and demanded the surrender of the colony, Governor Stuyvesant could only rage and then yield. The Dutch flag was replaced by the British, and New Netherlands became New York.

Growth Under British Rule. One of the first acts of the new English governor was the granting of a measure of local self-government. English settlers from the other colonies moved in, other immigrants came across the Atlantic, and the growth of the colony was rapid. New York became a royal colony when its proprietor, the Duke of York, became King James II of England (1685).

New Jersey Established. Meantime, the Duke of York had voluntarily lessened the size of his domain by giving the part we know as New Jersey to two of his friends, Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. They administered the affairs without any great success and finally gave up the attempt entirely. The title to

the control of the New Jersey colony went back to the king in 1702, and it remained a royal colony until the Revolution.

The English Quakers and the Penn Colonial Grant. Meanwhile a religious sect in England called the Quakers had become very much interested in colonization. One of them, William Penn, a young man of wealth and distinguished family, obtained from Charles II, who had been a friend of Penn's father, a grant of land southwest of New York. This the King insisted on naming Pennsylvania, in honor of his "good friend," Admiral Penn, the father of William. Later, because the colony needed a coast line, King James II was induced to add Delaware to the original grant.

William Penn, 1644-1718

The Quakers in England were often brutally persecuted. To provide a refuge for them, and for other persecuted people, as well, William Penn established the Pennsylvania colony which for a time included Delaware and New Jersey.

Quaker Relations with the Indians. Not satisfied with the king's title to the land, William Penn signed a formal purchase treaty with the Indians, and by the system of fair treatment thus begun, the Quaker colonies were able to avoid many of the horrors of Indian warfare that fell to the lot of other settlements.

Liberal Government Granted. The form of government granted by Penn was very liberal. Complete religious toleration was established for all people, Christian or pagan. The landowners elected a general assembly which made the laws, so the people had a measure of self-government.

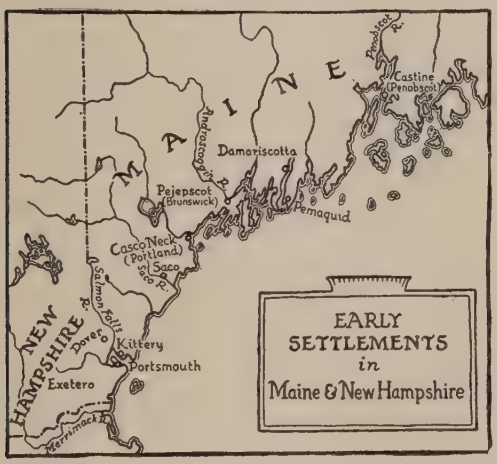
The Coming of the Germans. Penn systematically advertised his colony not only in England but on the continent. News of this "land of freedom" was sent to oppressed people everywhere. The inducements proved especially effective in Northern Germany which for years had been the scene of such terrible religious wars that the people had almost lost hope of ever finding

peace and prosperity. Thousands of them took fresh courage and came to Pennsylvania, where they made splendid colonists.

Scotch Irish Settlers. Many Scotch Irish also found their way to the Quaker settlement. They were Presbyterians from northern Ireland and the English laws upholding the established church bore heavily upon them. In the new world they found unrestricted opportunity.

The House in Philadelphia in Which William Penn Lived.

Prosperity of Quaker Colonies. Pennsylvania and Delaware prospered accordingly. Philadelphia, the capital and seat of government, rivaled Boston in size and importance. Agriculture was the leading industry, but a beginning was also made in iron smelting and simple manufacturing. England looked with a jealous eye on this beginning of industrial development, and discouraged it in every way possible.



Fishermen made the first settlements in these colonies. Maine was a part of Massachusetts from 1678 until 1820.

Maine and New Hampshire. Only two of the New England colonies were established under proprietors. These were Maine and New Hampshire. Neither of their proprietors was successful in the work of carrying on the government. Little settlements on the coast flourished in a small way because of the demand for fish, but played a very small part in the history of the colonial

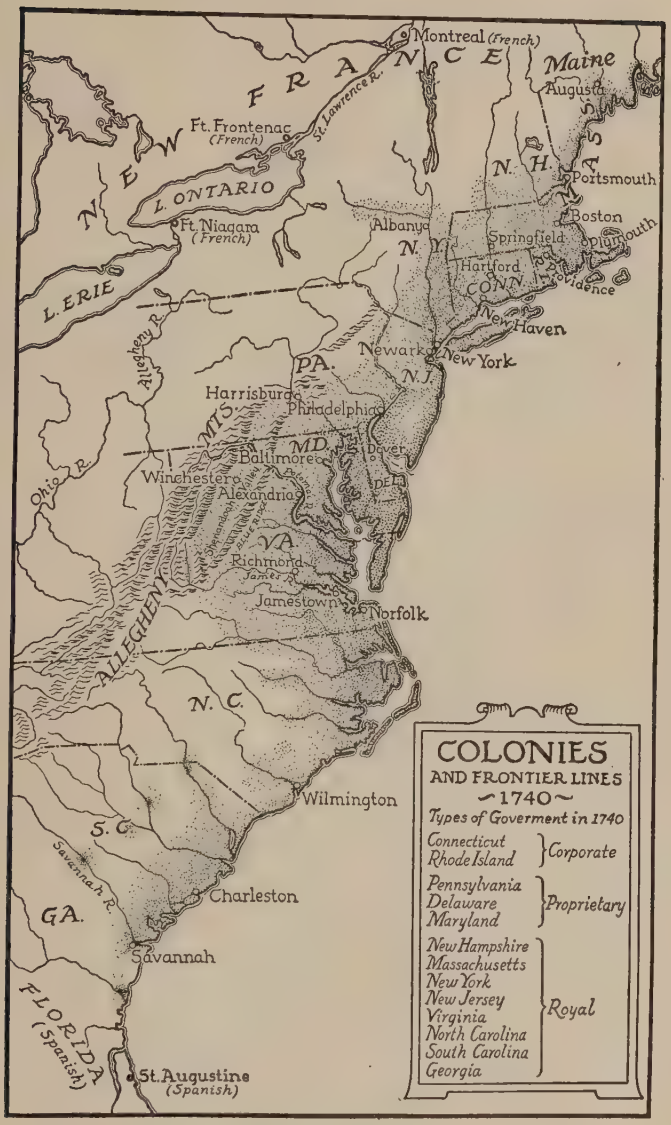
period. Massachusetts set up a claim to all the area occupied by both colonies, and acquired Maine by an actual purchase of the territory. New Hampshire after passing through many hands became a royal colony.

The "Lords Proprietors" and the Carolina Settlements. The three colonies that grew up along the Atlantic south of Virginia were proprietary for a very little while. Settlements were begun in the Carolinas even before a royal grant was made to eight gentlemen, "friends of the king." These "lords proprietors" had a wonderful constitution drawn up by a famous English philosopher, John Locke, under which they attempted to establish a government in which the people's sole part was obedience. Men who live face to face with the bare necessities of life in a wilderness are quick to develop self-reliance and independence, and this "Grand Model" constitution failed to work. The proprietors surrendered their grant to the king and the land was then divided into two provinces, North and South Carolina, under governors appointed by the sovereign, and with representative assemblies similar to that of Virginia.

THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

Settlers of Other Nationalities. Besides the English settlers from England and from the other colonies, there were many Scotch Irish who came to make their homes in the Carolinas, and a somewhat smaller number of French Huguenots,[1] driven from their own country by fierce religious persecution.

[1] This was the name applied to the French Protestants.


Montreal (French)
FRANCE
NEW
Maine
Augusta
St. Lawrence R.
Ft. Frontenac (French)
L. ONTARIO
N. H.
Portsmouth
Ft. Niagara (French)
Albany
Boston
Springfield
N. Y.
Hartford
CONN.
Providence
L. ERIE
New Haven
Allegheny R.
Newark
New York
PA.
N. J.
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
MTS.
MD.
Dover
Baltimore
Winchester
Alexandria
Ohio R.
DEL.
VA.
Richmond
James R.
Jamestown
Norfolk
ALLEGHENY
N. C.
Wilmington
S. C.
Savannah R.
Charleston
GA.
Savannah
FLORIDA (Spanish)
St. Augustine (Spanish)
COLONIES
AND FRONTIER LINES
~1740~
Types of Goverment in 1740
Connecticut
Rhode Island
Corporate
Pennsylvania
Delaware
Maryland
Proprietary
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
New York
New Jersey
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Royal

Industries. South Carolina found the cultivation of rice and indigo, grown largely with slave labor, its source of prosperity; while the tall pine forests of its northern sister offered the material for ship building that satisfied a long-felt want in England. Tar, pitch, and turpentine found ready sale, and insured a steady though slow increase in the prosperity of the colony.

Oglethorpe's Sympathy for English Prisoners. Georgia, the last colony to be established, was the result of the efforts of James Oglethorpe, an English philanthropist. His sympathies were deeply stirred by the hideous misery of the English debtors who under the English laws could be kept in prison for owing even very small debts. The prisons were filthy, and the prisoners suffered terribly. Oglethorpe believed that many of these men, if given a new start in life under different conditions, might succeed.

Establishment of a "Buffer" Colony. Because of his very real desire to aid these debtors, Oglethorpe asked the king for territory in the new world. He added a shrewd suggestion that a "buffer" colony, between his Majesty's royal colony of Carolina and the turbulent Spanish settlements in Florida, would be a good thing. The grant was made to trustees who chose Oglethorpe as governor, and a settlement was begun at Savannah (1733).

Limitations on Georgian Prosperity. Failure is dangerously apt to become a habit, however, and the debtors did not make very successful colonists. Rice and sugar cane were the most profitable products, and these were being raised in neighboring colonies by slave labor. Oglethorpe had forbidden slavery in Georgia, so her colonists had the handicap of matching free labor against slavery. The colony grew very slowly, even after the proprietor surrendered his charter and the royal governor appointed by the king removed all irksome restrictions. Georgia remained the smallest and weakest of the colonies until after the Revolution.

CHAPTER IX

COLONIAL LIFE

The outline given below is offered as a suggestion for one or more definite theme assignments. The source material of the chapter following contains the necessary information for their development, especially when taken in connection with the previous study. Even a slight acquaintance with this class of material should prove of value to the pupil, and the most elementary attempt to organize the facts presented ought to give him a new idea of the importance of history sources.

I. The America Which the Colonists Found

A. Descriptions of the country
   1. New England.
   2. The Middle Colonies.
   3. The South.

B. The Indians who dwelt in the land

II. The People Who Came

A. The English

B. The Germans

C. The Scotch-Irish

D. The Huguenots

E. Other nationalities

III. Hardships of Colonial Life

A. Danger from the Indians

B. Good and bad crops
   1. The First Thanksgiving.
   2. Results of crop failures.

C. Poor health conditions
   1. Effect of climate.
   2. Scant provisions for care of sick.

IV. Industrial Conditions

A. America a land of opportunity
   1. Prosperity on the plantation.
   2. Some failed to take advantage of this opportunity.
   3. High wages.

B. Beginnings of industries and trade
   1. Fishing.
   2. Ship-building and commerce. (*a*) British restrictions.
   3. Problem of currency.
   4. Manufacturing.

V. Manners and Customs
   A. In New England
   B. In the Middle Colonies
   C. In the South

VI. Religious and Moral Conditions
   A. Effect on laws
   B. The witchcraft delusion
   C. Basis of interest in schools and colleges

VII. Efforts to Secure Better Conditions
   A. American Philosophical Society

It is hard to realize today that the men and women who faced the perils of the wilderness in far-off colonial times were actually flesh and blood creatures like ourselves.

They have left us fascinating proofs that they were real people, however, in letters, diaries, and documents, and we get pictures of how others saw them from the accounts of early travelers. It is from such materials that the historian writes history. The extracts[1] given below are fairly typical, and will help prove, if proof is necessary, that history is a record of life and not "dull print shut between dusty covers."

Descriptions of the Country. The early settlers in the new world were often enthusiastic about their homes. In 1630 a "right reverent Divine now there resident" described in a letter the country around Salem, Massachusetts, as:

". . . neither too flat in the plainness nor too high in the hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and fit for pasture, or for plows, or meadow ground . . . though all the country be as it were a thick wood for the general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians and especially about the plantation . . .

"For stone, there is plenty of slates at the Isle of Slate in Massachusetts bay, and limestone, freestone, and smooth-stone, and iron stone, and marble-stone also in such store that we have great rocks of it, and a harbor hard by. Our plantation is from hence called Marble harbor.

"Of minerals there hath yet been but little trial made, yet we have not without great hope of being furnished in that soil . . . There are

[1] The spelling has been modernized in a few cases in the interest of clearness.

not such great and beautiful acres of corn I suppose anywhere else to be found but in this country . . . Little children here by setting of corn may earn much more than their own maintenance . . . Excellent vines are here up and down in the woods . . . For wood there is not better in the world, I think . . .

"For beasts there are some bears, and they say some lions also, for they have been seen at Cape Ann. Also there are several sorts of deer . . . also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation, excepting lions." — *American Colonial Tracts*, I, No. 11.

In 1645, David Peterson DeVries sent back to Holland his impressions of New Netherlands:

"The land here is, in general, like it is in France. It is good, and very productive of everything necessary for the life of man, except clothes, linens, woolens, shoes, and stockings; but these they could have if the country were well populated, and there could be made good leather of the hides of animals which multiply in great quantities. Good tan could be made of the bark of oak-trees. The land all along the river is very mountainous . . . There are in this country oaks, alders, beeches, elms, and willows, both in the woods and along the water. The islands are covered with chestnut, plum, and hazel nut trees, and large walnuts of different kinds, of as good flavor as they are in the Fatherland, but hard of shell. The ground on the mountains is bedecked with bilberries, or blueberries . . . The level land is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully that they answer for food. There are also in the woods, as well as along the river, vines very abundant of two kinds, one bearing good blue grapes . . . the other kind is like the grapes which grow in France on trellises, — the large white ones . . .

"There was this year, as they told me, a large quantity of deer at harvest and through the winter, very fat, having upon their ribs upward of two fingers of tallow . . . They also had this year great numbers of turkeys . . . There are many partridges, heath-hens, and pigeons which fly together in thousands, and our people sometimes shoot thirty, forty, and fifty of them at a shot." — *Old South Leaflets*, No. 168.

An English girl, Eliza Lucas, who was forced by circumstances to take charge of a large estate in South Carolina, wrote that —

"It abounds with fine navigable rivers and great quantities of fine timber . . . The Country at a great distance, that is to say about a

hundred and fifty miles from Charleston very hilly. The soil in general very fertile and there are few European or American fruits or grain but what grow here. The Country abounds with wild fowl, Venison and fish. Beef, Veal, and Mutton are here in much greater perfection than in the Islands though not equal to that of England . . . Fruit extremely good and in profusion, and the oranges exceed any I ever tasted in the West Indies or from Spain or Portugal . . . The winters here are fine and pleasant but 4 months in the year are extremely disagreeable excessive hott much thunder and lightening and musketoes and sand flies in abundance." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 99.

The Original Inhabitants. The first comers to America found the land already occupied by the Indians and gave many descriptions of them. The following was written by William Penn in 1683:

"Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said: I will begin with the children: So soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young and in cold weather they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight, thin board, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight, wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs . . . The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens . . . Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass . . . Their diet is maize or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *homine:* they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and pease . . .

"These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion: yet they believe in God and in immortality, for they say, 'There is a great king hath made them, who dwells in a glorious country southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again' . . . In the fall when corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another: I was at one festival myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn . . . which they make up in a square form . . . and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fell to dancing. They that go must carry a small present in their money . . . which is made of the bone of a fish: the black with them is as gold, the white, silver; they call it all *wampum.*" — *Old South Leaflets*, No. 171.

Types of Settlers. The strange and wonderful stories of the abundance of the new world, and its interesting though often fierce inhabitants became an absorbing topic of discussion in the old world. In England, especially, the younger sons of the nobility called " gentlemen " were often very poor, and the new world seemed to offer a chance to win a fortune. People of the middle classes and poor farmers, many of them Puritans in religion, believed they would find it easier to make a living in America than in England. There was a great deal of downright poverty in the old world, and the jails were often full to overflowing with poor debtors unable to pay what they owed. Georgia was established because of an earnest desire on the part of James Oglethorpe to aid these poor people, though Edmund Burke, the great English orator, gave the credit to the king:

"His Majesty having taken into his consideration the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want; as likewise the distresses of many poor foreigners, who would take refuge here from persecution; and having a Princely regard to the great danger the southern frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, hath, out of his Fatherly compassion toward his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 126.

As hinted by Burke, other people than the English poor came to Georgia. From a letter by the Reverend Johann Martin Bolzius we learn that —

"Our Salzburgers were lodged in a tent pitched on purpose for them till Mr. Oglethorpe's Arrival from Charleston. A Jew invited our Salzburgers, and treated them with a good Rice-Soup for Breakfast. And God hath also moved the Hearts of several others here to be very good and hospitable to us. The Country, as the Inhabitants say, is very fruitful, and the Land chosen by us, which is about 21 English miles from hence, is still better. All that is sowed, grows in a short time." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 115.

Before Georgia had been opened to settlement, other Germans, particularly from the Palatine district along the Rhine, had

been coming to Pennsylvania and New York. Conrad Weiser, one of the leaders of his countrymen, recorded:

"That, In the year 1709, The Palatine's, and other Germans, being invited to come into England, about Four Thousand of them were sent into New York in America, of whom about 1700 Died on Board or at their landing in that Province, by unavoidable sickness.

"That before they went on Board, they were promised, those remaining alive should have forty acres of Land, and Five pounds sterling per Head, besides Clothes, Tools, Utensils and other necessaries to Husbandry to be given at their arrival in America." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 77.

Industrious and frugal settlers were welcomed in all the colonies. Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, desiring to escape from religious persecution and from the poverty of the homeland, joined the swelling tide of immigrants. "A Humble Memorial and Petition" of James Woodside, Minister,

"Sheweth That he with 40 Families, consisting of 160 Persons did in the year 1718 embark on a ship at Derry Lough in Ireland in Order to erect a Colony at Casco Bay, in Your Majestys Province of Maine in New England. That being arrived they made a settlement at . . . Brunswick." — Quoted in BOLTON, *Scotch-Irish Pioneers*, p. 225.

The great mass of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians went to Pennsylvania and the colonies further south. Edmund Burke, writing in 1761, said:

"The number of white people in Virginia is between sixty and seventy thousand; and they are growing every day more numerous by the migration of the Irish, who not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more frugal and industrious Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote counties in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. These are chiefly Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called the Scotch-Irish." — Quoted in FORD, *Scotch-Irish in America*, p. 199.

The Huguenots, or French Protestants, were cruelly persecuted in their own country, during part of the Colonial period, and many of them came to America. There were Huguenot settlers in all of the English colonies, although the Carolinas seem to have attracted the greater number. One of them in 1687 wrote from Boston to his relatives in France:

"One is entirely free here and without any restraint."

He further advised, however, that

"Those who wish to come to this country should become naturalized in London, in order to be at liberty to engage in traffic of all kinds, and to voyage among the English islands: without this, it cannot be done." — Quoted in BAIRD, *The Huguenot Emigration to America*, II, p. 389.

Many of these early French settlers were very poor. In 1700 a settlement was made by 700 Huguenots at Manakintown, twenty

The Most Luxurious Way to Travel on Land in Colonial Days.

miles above Richmond, Virginia. Colonel Byrd visited them shortly afterward and recorded:

"We visited about seventy of their huts, being, most of them very mean; there being upwards of fourty of them betwixt the two creeks, which is about 4 miles along on the River, and have cleared all the old Manacan ffields for near three miles together, as also some others (who came thither last February) have done more work than they that went thither first . . . Indeed, they are very poor . . . Though these people are very poor yet they seem very cheerful and are (as farr as we could learn) very healthy, all they seem to desire is that they might have Bread enough." — Quoted in FOSDICK, *The French Blood in America*, p. 353.

The observer touched upon the three things that made the Huguenots among the most valuable of the new world settlers, their willingness to work, their cheerfulness, and their spirit of contentment.

A letter from John Jones (1725) indicates that other old world countries were sending contributions toward the making of a new nation:

"I have heard my father speak much about old Wales; but I was born in this woody region, this new world . . . In the autumn of this same year (1682) several from Wales arrived here . . . At this time my father was living with the Swedes, as I mentioned before, and intending daily to return to Wales, but as . . . the country improved . . . he determined to remain." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, pp. 455–459.

Hardships of Colonial Life. The most serious danger the frontier colonist had to face was the Indian. Organized warfare occurred at irregular intervals, but there was never-ending fear of the individual red man who might go on the warpath whenever he felt so inclined. The frontiersman lived in constant dread of the savage warwhoop, the deadly tomahawk, or the theft of wife or child. In 1630 the " right reverent divine " who wrote the glowing account of the Massachusetts colony given above (see page 100) boasted that —

"For their dealing with us we neither fear them nor trust them for forty of our musketeers will drive five hundred of them out of the field." — *American Colonial Tracts*, I, No. 11.

Yet over a hundred years later the record of less than one month, in the Journal of Captain Phineas Stevens, has several items that give some hint as to the kind of neighbors the Indians were proving themselves to be. There was no organized Indian warfare at this time:

"June 2 Had the news of the Indians killing and taking four of our people.

June 9 Had further news of more mischief done on our people.

June 12 Was told . . . that the Mischief the Indians had done on the English was at White River, and that there were six in company. Two made their escape; two killed; and two taken prisoners.

June 15 Lewse, a Frenchman . . . informed us he saw nine Indians sett off from thence (i.e. Crown Point) for war.

June 16 We have received repeated accounts of the . . . Indians doing (evil) upon the French traders to the westward.

June 19 Two Indians came into town tonight. Tis said they have brought two scalps and two prisoners, but it wants confirmation."

Stevens, who had once been an Indian captive himself, was sent to Montreal to investigate and if possible ransom several captives from his own neighborhood who were reputed to be held by the Indians near that city. He was successful, and recorded —

"We set out from Montreal for New England. Brought with us eight prisoners, viz: two taken from Jebucto, Thomas Stanard and Honor Hancock: two men from New Hampshire, Amos Estmore and John Stark, taken a hunting; Joseph Fortner, taken west of Pennsylvania; from the Massachusetts, Edmund Hinckley, Samual Lambarb and Seth Webb." — Journal of Captain Phineas Stevens in *Travels in American Colonies*, p. 314.

The colonists were clear enough thinkers to understand the attitude of the Indians. In a narrative by Wheelock, in 1762, it is very well explained:

"The deep rooted prejudices they have so generally imbibed against the English, is that they are selfish and have secret designs to encroach upon their lands, or other wise wrong them in their interests. This jealousy seems to have been occasioned, nourished, and confirmed by some of their neighbors, who have got large tracts of their lands for a very considerable part of their true value, and it is commonly said, by taking the advantage of them when they were intoxicated with liquor. And also, by unrighteous dealers, who have taken such advantage to bring their skins and furrs at less than half price, &c. And perhaps these jealousies may be not a little increased by a consciousness of their own perfidy and inhumanity toward the English." — *Old South Leaflets*, No. 22.

Not only was there danger from Indian attacks, but the food supply was also a source of great anxiety. The first winter in the Plymouth colony was a very trying time. About one-half the company died as a result of the privations and hardships they endured. The next summer brought a good harvest, which is described in a letter written in December, 1621, by Edward Winslow, later the governor of Plymouth:

"We set the last Spring some twenty Acres of Indian Corne, and sowed some six acres of Barly and Pease, and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shads,

which we have in great abundance and take with great ease at our doores. Our Corne did prove well and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian Corne, and our Barly indifferent good . . . Our Harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little help beside, served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations, we exercised our Armes, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest King Massasoyt, with some ninty men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the plantation, and bestowed on our Governour, and upon our Captaine and others." — *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 231.

The effect of poor crops is well described by John Winthrop (1643), governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony:

"Corn was very scarce over all the country, so by the end of the 2d month, many families in most towns had none to eat but were forced to have clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish, etc., and sure this came by the just hand of the Lord, to punish our ingratitude and covetousness. For corn being plenty divers years before, it was so undervalued as it would not pass for any commodity: if one offered a shop keeper corn for anything, his answer would be, he knew not what to do with it. . . . The immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest: also pigeons came in such flocks (about 10,000 in one flock) that beat down and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of English grain: much corn spent in setting out of ships, ketches, etc.; lastly there were such abundance of mice in the barns, that devoured much there. The mice also did much spoil in orchards, eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow, as never had been known the like spoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows." — *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II, p. 302.

There was a fearful lot of sickness among the settlers, and the pages of the journals of the day and of the letters are full of accounts of it. Colonel Byrd of Virginia has left us a record in which he speaks constantly of ague, fevers, yellow jaundice, and other ills. The only rival as a topic of discussion was food. Perhaps the unlimited eating, especially of meat, had something to do with the sickness, though the colonists found many other explanations. Byrd wrote:

"The Northeast Wind drives a World of Raw unkindly Vapours upon us from Newfoundland, loaden with Blite, Coughs, and Pleurisys." — *The Writings of Colonel Wm. Byrd*, p. 339.

In the same account Colonel Byrd treats with scorn the suggestion that diseases might be infectious, declaring such an idea to be a " Superstition of the Vulgar." The colonists seem to have taken it all as a matter of course, and Latrobe recorded in a very carefully kept journal describing early Virginia conditions:

"Of the unhealthiness of this place . . . Mrs. —— is a melancholy instance, having for five years past labored under a fever and ague which nothing, I think, can cure but a change of air. All her family have had the same complaint, though at present well. They seem to think it a thing of course, and one of them, upon my observing that her looks did not betray an unhealthiness in the situation, answered that it was no wonder, for she had not had an ague for thirteen months past. A miserable existence this." — *Journal of Latrobe*, p. 11.

Under such conditions every man was his own doctor, and many wonderful remedies were advocated. Any person who was unusually successful might easily set up for a physician, and Colonel Byrd spoke of a Mrs. Levistone in the town of Fredricksburgh who

"Acts here in the Double Capacity of a Doctress and a Coffee Woman." — *The Writings of Colonel Wm. Byrd*, p. 373.

Other medical aid was also lacking. At another time he recorded

"Tooth drawers we had none amongst us, nor any of the instruments they make use of." — *Ibid*, p. 317.

Sunlight and Shadow in the Colonies. In spite of all the hardships the pioneers endured, America was even then a land of opportunity. That some of those who came to the new country were prosperous is plain from the following description of his Virginia plantation by William Fitzhugh (1686):

"The Plantation where I now live contains a thousand acres, at least 700 acres of it being rich thicket, the remainder good plantable land, without any waste either by marshes or great swamps . . . The commodiousness, conveniency, and pleasantness yourself well knows; upon it there is three quarters well furnished with all necessary houses, grounds and fencing, together with a choice crew of negroes at

each plantation, most of them this Country born, the remainder as likely as most in Virginia, there being twenty-nine in all, with stocke of cattle and hogs at each quarter. Upon the same land is my own dwelling house furnished with all accommodations for a comfortable and genteel living, as a very good dwelling house with rooms in it, four of the best of them hung and nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient, and all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys, four good Cellars, a Dairy, Dovecote, Stable, Barn, Henhouse, Kitchen, and all other conveniences, and all in a manner new, a large Orchard, of about 2500 Apple trees most grafted, well fenced with a Locust fence, which is as durable as most brick walls, a Garden a hundred foot square, well paled in, a Yard wherein is most of the aforesaid houses . . . together with a good stock of cattle, hogs, horses, mares, sheep . . . About a mile and a half distance a good water Grist mill . . .

COLONIAL GRISTMILL BUILT IN 1645
Governor Winthrop's Mill, New London, Connecticut.

"I have occasion for two pair of small Andirons for Chamber Chimneys, one pair of brass ones, with fire shovel and tongs; and one pair of iron ones well glazed, with fire shovel and tongs, also two indifferent large Iron backs for Chimneys, which I would have you send me by the first ships . . .

"Your promise to assist me in the purchase of those Negroes I requested you to buy for me . . . I desired you to buy me five or six, whereof three or four to be boys, a man and woman or men and women, the boys from eight to seventeen or eighteen, the rest as young as you can procure them . . .

"I desire your care in sending me those things I sent for and do now send for; and what my money [1] comes to more than I have given advice of, please send me it in Linen, and let there be two pieces of white Dimmety and one piece of colored . . . If you could possibly procure me a Bricklayer or Carpenter or both, it would be a great kindness . . . If you send in any tradesmen be sure send in their tools with them." — HART, *Contemporaries*, I, pp. 301–306.

While the great planters were often well-to-do and possessed extensive plantations and with their stately coaches and their courtly manners represented prosperity and happiness, the traveler Latrobe saw a different side of Virginia life:

[1] He had undoubtedly sent a cargo of tobacco to be sold.

"In my trips to the quarries to look over the stone destined for the public buildings, I have remarked upon hundreds of half-starved, miserably lodged, idle, besotted and fever-smitten families that inhabit the country on the Patomac, and indeed all the back country. These people are either tenants to great landlords or possess little farms themselves, or only inhabit miserable log houses, and hire themselves occasionally as laborers. The river and creeks supply them most amply in ordinary seasons with shad and herring, at the expense of little labor and salt. A few pigs and fowl and a cow are kept at scarcely any expense in the woods. The pigs furnish bacon, the cows a scanty supply of milk. The little labor these people do for themselves (and generally they cultivate but little land) gives them as much corn as supports them, and a few vegetables, viz. cabbage to their bacon. And the smaller amount of labor they perform for others brings them in their deficient meal, their few groceries, and the great source of their bliss — whisky." — *Journal of Latrobe*, p. 34.

There was poverty and suffering in other colonies also. In 1735, Rev. Samuel Quincy, a New England minister living in the South, described conditions as he saw them:

"In short Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. Some of the people, to support their extravagance, and others out of real necessity, have run themselves miserably in debt, the storekeepers having given them credit in hopes of possessing themselves of their houses, and even their persons, by obliging them to be their servants: and if the trustees do not disconcert these designs, great numbers must be unavoidably ruined: though to do this must needs ruin the store keepers, for they are most of them deeply indebted to their merchants in Carolina: But I think indeed they deserve no pity, because their designs appear to have been rapacious and dishonest. This is our present condition, and the small improvements that are made on lands, gives us a very indifferent future prospect. Notwithstanding the place has been settled nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family, which can subsist without farther assistance, and most would starve if they had not dependence on the trustees." — Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 117.

In the better developed colonies it was possible for those who were thrifty and industrious to secure very high wages. A colonial writer, Gabriel Thomas, in 1698 said of Pennsylvania:

"I must needs say even the Present Encouragements are very great and inviting, for Poor People (both Men and Women) of all kinds, can

here get three times the Wages for their Labour they can in England or Wales." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 66.

The explanation for these high wages given by the same writer was true of other places as well as of Pennsylvania:

"But the chief reason why Wages of Servants of all sorts is much higher here than there, arises from the great Fertility and Produce of the Place, besides, if these Stipends were refused them, they could quickly set up for themselves, for they can have Provision very cheap, and Land for a very small matter." — HART, *Contemporaries*, II, p. 67.

In New England also, men were not satisfied to work for others when it was just as easy to work for themselves. As a result wages went up, much to the indignation of the "better class" who passed a law which —

. . . "ordered that master carpenters, sawyers, masons, clapboard ryvers, bricklayers, tylers, joiners, wheelrights, mowers, etc., shall not take above 2 shilling a day, finding themselves diet, and not above 14 pence a day if they have diet found them, under the penalty of 5 shillings both to giver and receiver. Also that all other inferior workmen of the said occupations shall have such wages as the constable of the said place, and 2 other inhabitants, that he shall choose, shall appoint." — *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, I, p. 109.

Commercial Development. Fishing had become an important industry in America before any permanent settlements were made, hundreds of fishermen making the long three-thousand-mile journey across the Atlantic annually for the fishing season. To protect this industry, King Charles I inserted in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company a provision that nothing was to —

"enure to hinder our loving subjects whatsoever to use and exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New England, . . . and to build and sett up on the landes by these presents granted such wharfes, stages, and worke-houses as shall be necessarie for the salting, drying, and packing their fish." — *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, I, p. 19.

Fish were very abundant all along the coast. An early letter from Plymouth declared:

"For fish and fowl we have great abundance, fresh Cod in the Summer is but coarse meet with us. Our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth variety of other Fish." — *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 233.

Similarly William Penn wrote repeatedly of the great quantity of fish in the streams of his colony and particularly of the whales near the mouth of the Delaware:

"Mighty Whales roll upon the Coast near the Mouth of the Bay of Delaware. Eleven caught and worked into Oyle one Season. We justly hope a considerable profit by a Whalery; they being so numerous." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 265.

An early settler in Pennsylvania wrote in 1684:

"I have been 3 weeks from home . . . where they take the whales, they took two while I was there, they had killed 12 in all . . . There is one caught that its thought will make several hundred Barrels of Oyle." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 293.

Ship-building was naturally one of the first industries to find a place in colonial life. The Massachusetts Bay Company's first letter of instructions (1629) read:

"We have sent six shipwrights, of whom Robert Moulton is chief." — Young, *Chronicles of First Planters*, p. 161.

Fishing and ship-building led naturally enough to commerce, and we read that, in 1640, 300,000 dry fish were sent to market. A brisk trade soon developed between the colonies on the mainland of America and the British colonies in the West Indies. In 1660, the Governor of Connecticut reported:

"Now the country doth send a great store of biscott, flower, peas, beife, porke, butter and other provisions to the supply of Barbados, Newfoundland, and other places, besides the furnishing out many vessels and fishing boats of their owne. This country also is now well stocked with horses, cowes, sheepe, and goates." — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII, p. 65.

William Penn foresaw the future commerce of Philadelphia when he wrote in 1685:

"These things that we have in prospect for Staples of Trade are Wine, Linnen, Hemp, Potashes, and Whale Oyle; to say nothing of our Pro-

visions for the Islands, our Saw Mills, Sturgeon, some Tobacco, and our Furs and Skins . . . I might add Iron (perhaps Copper too)." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 273.

Attempted Limitations on Colonial Trade. This promising colonial trade was not permitted to develop freely. The commercial interests of the colonies suffered at times from British interference, for the mother country wished to keep the profits of this commerce for herself. Parliament passed several laws which, had they been strictly enforced, might have strangled colonial industry. The New England Yankees found great profit in a three-cornered trade which they had established. By it they got molasses from the West Indies, which they carried to their own shores to be made into rum, and then carried the rum to Africa to "barter" for slaves, whom they took to the West Indies to exchange for more molasses.

The English parliament passed laws, commonly called the "Sugar Acts," which levied a very heavy duty on molasses and other things brought into a colony from any of the French or Spanish possessions. This would seriously interfere with the profitable molasses-rum-slave traffic of New England, and the colonists protested indignantly. In a letter to the British Lords of Trade, Governor Bernard said that if the Molasses Acts were enforced —

. . . "the Merchants say, There is an end of the trade in this Province; that it is sacrificed to the West Indian planters: that it is time for every prudent man to get out of debt with Great Britain as fast as he can, and betake himself to husbandry, and be content with such coarse manufactures as this country will produce. This is now the common talk wherever one goes; and it is certain that whatever detriment the continuation and strict execution of the Molasses Act will bring to the trade of North America (and surely more or less it will bring) it will sooner come home to Great Britain." — BERNARD, in *Letters on America*, p. 9.

Lack of Currency and Its Effects. Colonial trade was also hampered by the lack of an established currency.[1] Tobacco, the

[1] There were coins from various sources in use in the colonies, such as Spanish "pieces of eight," the pine tree shillings of Massachusetts and English

main product of Virginia, was also the measure of value and the medium of exchange. Its use for money had many disadvantages. For example, an English law in 1693 provided for the establishment of postal service in Virginia and fixed the rate of postage at three pence for every letter of a single sheet for eighty miles, and four and one-half pence for greater distances in the colony. Nevertheless, in 1710 we find Governor Spotswood wrote that:

"I have for these two months past expected here Mr. Hamilton, who is empowered to settle a Post through this country and the neighboring Colonys. I believe the thing to be very feasible and shall do all that lyes in my power to encourage a project which may hereafter bring in a considerable Revenue to her Majesty, the greatest Obstruction which I apprehend in it is from the want of money fitt for Change, and to pass in paying the postage of Letters: there being now only Tobacco, which is a specie very incommodious to receive small payments in and of very uncertain value." — *Letters of Governor Spotswood,* p. 22.

In the northern colonies, beaver skins, Indian corn, and other products served as money for many years. Apparently the first coins were the work of John Hull, who recorded in his diary (1652):

"Upon occasion of much coin brought in the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court [of Massachusetts] ordered a mint to be set up, and to coin it . . . every shilling to be three pennyweight . . . And they made choice of me for that employment." — Hull, in *Transactions of American Antiquarian Society,* III, p. 145.

Variety of Industries Established. In spite of British interference with trade and the lack of suitable currency, a variety of industries was established, especially sawmills, gristmills, tanneries, ropewalks, brickyards, and the like. In 1637 Abraham Shaw of Massachusetts was granted a monopoly for —

. . . "one half of the benefit of the coals or ironstone which shall be found in any common ground." — *Massachusetts Colonial Records,* I, p. 206.

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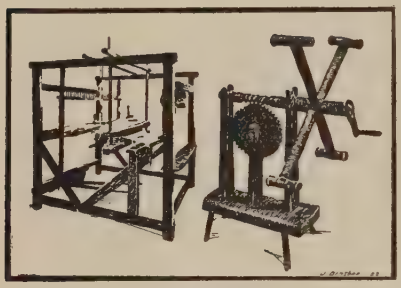
currency, but the supply was not equal to the demand, and the value of the different moneys was not fixed. Consequently much of the trading had to depend on the awkward and undesirable system of "barter."

Iron furnaces were soon established at Lynn, Taunton, and other places. One early writer said of the furnace at Lynn,

"The furnace runs 8 tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish." — Quoted in WEEDEN, *Economic History of New England*, I, p. 185.

Joseph Jenkins invented an improved scythe with a thicker back and a longer cutting edge, and in 1646, he secured authority —

. . . "for the making of engines for mills to go with water . . . and mills for the making of sithes and other edged tools, with a new-invented sawmill, that things may be afforded cheaper than formerly, and . . . for fourteen years without disturbance by any other setting up the like inventions." — *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, III, p. 65.



LOOM AND REEL

Almost every colonial home contained such machines. They were operated by hand power and on them was produced a very large part of the woven material used in the colonies.

The industrial life of the southern colonies was of a very different character. Why this was so is made clear in Anderson's report on the colony of Maryland. The report also reveals very clearly the English attitude toward colonial industries:

"In Maryland, as well as in Virginia the planters live mostly in separate situations and not in towns, for the convenience of the great number of rivers, and of creeks and in-lets of the great bays of Chesapeak and Delawar, whereby they so easily convey their tobacco to the ships; so that in neither of those colonies are there as yet any towns of considerable bulk or importance . . . which is so far a benefit to the mother country, as without towns wherein home manufactures and handicrafts are generally first propagated, they must continue to be supplied from Britain with cloathing, furniture, tools, delicacies, etc." — ANDERSON, *Origin of Commerce*, II, p. 352.

Spinning and weaving, chiefly of woolen cloth, was carried on by the colonial women, and homespun was the usual material for clothing. The Germans who came to Pennsylvania introduced

other arts. Robert Turner, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, wrote in 1685:

"The manufacture of Linnen by the Germans (in Germantown) goes on finely, and they make fine Linnen." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 272.

And Pastorius, a leader of the German settlers, wrote a few years later:

"The inhabitants of this city (Germantown) are for the most part trades people such as cloth, fustian, and linen weavers, tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, carpenters, who however at the same time are also occupied with the cultivation of the soil and the raising of cattle." — *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 436.

Varied Accomplishments of Colonists. Although special industries were developing, there were many places where a man had to be a jack-of-all-trades. A journal kept by Captain Phineas Stevens recorded the progress of his house building on his farm in Western Massachusetts:

Sept. 25 I sawed timbers for clapboards, etc.
Oct. 4 I fell timber
Oct. 5 I begin to hew timber for my house
Oct. 16 I fell timber
Oct. 18 I hew timber with six scoope
Oct. 20 I hew timber
Oct. 21 I hew timber
Oct. 23 Hew timber with 6 do
Oct. 24 Five hands a hewing
Oct. 26 Four hands a schooring
Oct. 28 Finish hewing in forenoon
Nov. 7 Begin to frame house
Nov. 8 At framing, Decon Adams and family came [presumably to help]
Nov. 10 At framing. This day a number of men from Woodstock came
Nov. 11 Began to raise sides of the house
Nov. 13 At framing. The lower part of the house is almost up
Nov. 14 At framing
Nov. 15 I begin to raise my house
Nov. 16 I finish

— Journal of Captain Phineas Stevens, in *Travels in American Colonies*, p. 320.

Life of the People. Samuel Sewall, for a time Chief Justice of the Massachusetts colony, left us a diary which gives us many intimate glimpses of family life in New England (1692):

"Go to Hog Island with Joshua Gee and sell him 3 white oaks for thirty shillings: I am to cart them to the water side . . .

"Mr. Willard and I visit lonesome Mr. Torrey. We meet my Uncle entering Crane's Plain on his way to Boston; he turns back with us and accompanied us to Weymouth . . . Mr. Torrey took our visit very kindly. Dined in his Kitchen Chamber. He made Mr. Willard crave

A New England Kitchen

a Blessing and return thanks, which he performed excellently. Tomorrow will be a month since Mrs. Torrey died . . . Fine rain after our getting home.

"Joseph threw a knob of Brass and hit his Sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which, and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whipped him pretty smartly. When I first went in, he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the Cradle which gave me a sorrowful remembrance of Adam's carriage.

"Our kitchen chimney fell on fire about noon, and blazed out sorely at top . . . the fire fell on the shingles so that they begun to burn in several places, being very dry; but by the good Providence of God, no harm done . . .

"Order comes out for a Fast. I carry one to Mr. Willard. Mrs. Willard talks to me very sharply about Captain Alden's not being at the Lord's Supper last Sabbath day." — HART, *Contemporaries*, I, pp. 512–516.

The diary of Abigail Foote gives us an interesting picture of the things a young Connecticut girl thought it worth while to record over a period of several weeks (1775):

"Mend Mothers riding hood . . . Ague in my face . . . Ellen was spark'd last night . . . Mother spun short thread . . . Carded tow . . . Spun linen . . . Worked on Cheese Basket . . . Hatcheled flax with Hannah and we did 51 lb. apiece . . . Pleated and ironed . . . Read sermon of Dodridges . . . Milked the cows . . . Made a broom of Guinea wheat straw . . . Israel said I might ride his horse . . . I carded two pounds of whole wool . . . Spun harness twine . . . Scoured the Pewter." —Quoted in FISHER, *Men, Women, and Manners*, I, p. 275.

While country life was simple enough, that of the cities was more colorful. The Reverend Andrew Burnaby, an English traveler, visited Philadelphia in 1759 and described its people as he saw them:

"The Pennsylvanians, as to character, are a frugal and industrious people: not remarkably courteous and hospitable to strangers, unless particularly recommended to them, but rather, like the denizens of most commercial cities, the reverse . . . They are by far the most enterprizing people upon the continent. As they consist of several nations and talk several languages, they are aliens in some respect to Great Britain, nor can it be expected that they should have the same filial attachment to her which her own immediate offspring have. However they are quiet, and concern themselves but little, except about getting money. The women are exceedingly handsome and polite, they are naturally sprightly and fond of pleasure and are much more agreeable and accomplished than the men." — BURNABY, *Travels in North America*, p. 86.

The same traveler also visited New York and found much to admire:

"The inhabitants of New York, in their character, very much resemble the Pennsylvanians: more than half of them are Dutch, and almost all traders: they are, therefore, habitually frugal, industrious, and parsimonious. Being however of different nations, different languages, and different religions, it is almost impossible to give them any precise or

determinate character. The women are handsome and agreeable, though rather more reserved than the Philadelphia ladies. Their amusements are much the same as in Pennsylvania; viz., balls, and sleighing expeditions in the winter; and in the summer going in parties upon the water, and fishing; or making excursions into the country. There are several houses pleasantly situated upon East river, near New York, where it is common to have turtle feasts; these happen once or twice a week. Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet and dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fish and amuse themselves till evening, and then return home in Italian chaises (the fashionable carriage in this and most parts of America, Virginia excepted, where they make use only of coaches, and these commonly drawn by six horses). . . .

"Arts and science have made no further progress here than in the other colonies; but as a subscription library has been lately opened, and every one seems zealous to promote learning, it may be hoped that they will hereafter advance faster than they have done hitherto." — BURNABY, *Travels in North America*, pp. 112, 113.

The description of plantation life written by William Fitzhugh (see page 109) helps us to understand some of the serious business of life in Virginia. There was a gay side also. John Kello, in a letter from Hampton, written in 1755, said:

"Dancing is the chief diversion here, and hunting and racing." — Quoted in STANARD, *Colonial Virginia*, p. 140.

Robert Beverley, a colonial historian, writing about the year 1700, noted that —

"They have hunting, fishing, and fowling with which they entertain themselves in an hundred ways." — *Ibid*, p. 259.

He described the hunting of wild horses, of deer, and other game, including the "treeing" after dark of opossums, of which he said:

"In this sort of hunting they carry their great dogs with them, because wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats and other beasts of prey are abroad in the night." — *Ibid*, p. 259.

William Stevens of Hanover County mentioned a fox hunt (1756):

"This morning I went fox hunting with some gentlemen where we had an excellent sport, for after running him four hours, we killed him." — *Ibid*, p. 259.

St. Andrew's Day was celebrated in all the southern colonies with special festivities. The Virginia Gazette (1737) carried the following news item:

"We have advice from Hanover County, that on St. Andrew's Day there are to be Horse Races and several other diversions, for the entertainment of the Gentlemen and Ladies . . . the substance of which is as follows: It is proposed that 20 Horses and Mares do run round a three miles course for a prize of five pounds; That a Violin be played for by 20 Fiddlers, no person to have the liberty of playing unless he bring a fiddle with him, and after the prize is won, they are all to play together and each a different tune, and to be treated by the Company: . . . That a pair of Silver Buckles be wrestled for by a number of brisk young men; That a pair of handsome Shoes be danced for: That a pair of handsome silk Stockings be given to the handsomest young country maid that appears on the field . . . And as this mirth is designed to be purely innocent and void of offense, all persons resorting there are desired to behave themselves with decency and sobriety." — Quoted in FISHER, *Men, Women, and Manners*, I, p. 73.

Even in colonial days there were efforts to censor amusements. The Governor of North Carolina in a message to the colonial assembly (1752) urged it —

. . . "to take the most effectual measures for promoting Religion and Virtue and suppressing Vice and Immorality . . . I desire you in a special manner to take into your consideration the barbarous and inhuman Manner of Boxing which so much prevails among the lower sort of People." — LICHTENSTEIN, *Early Social Life in Edgecombe*, p. 2.

Government officials often entertained on a sumptuous scale. William Black, a Virginian, traveling on official business, described a reception given by the Governor of Maryland at Annapolis (1744):

"We were Received by his Excellency and his Lady in the Hall, where we were an hour entertained by them, with some glasses of Punch in the intervals of the discourse; then the Scene was changed to a Dining Room, where you saw a plain proof of the Great Plenty of the Country, a Table in the most Splendid manner set out with a Great Variety of Dishes, all served up in the most Elegant way, after which came a Dessert no less Curious: Among the Rarities of which it was composed, was some fine Ice Cream, which with the Strawberries and Milk eet most Deliciously." Journal of WM. BLACK, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, p. 126.

Laws and Morals. Puritanism, as it developed on the New England coast, was a very stern and narrow religion. Pleasure was frowned upon, and hardship welcomed as a better preparation for the life to come. What they called crime was severely punished:

"For cursing and swearing the tongue was bored through with a hot iron. Scolds were gagged and sat at their own doors for all comers and goers to gaze at. For kissing a woman in the street, though but in a way of civil salute, whipping or a fine." — Quoted in FISHER, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*, I, p. 178.

STOCKS AND PILLORY

The colonists believed that minor offenses were best corrected by bodily punishment publicly administered.

Vanity and display were looked upon with horror, and there were orders of the General Court of Massachusetts forbidding —

. . ."short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arms may be discovered."

Women's sleeves were not to be more than half an ell wide. There were to be no —

. . . "immoderate great sleeves, knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands and rayles, silk ruses, double ruffles and cuffs." — Quoted in FISHER, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*, I, p. 185.

As the colonies grew more prosperous, however, this hardness seemed to soften and the Abbé Robin, who visited Boston during the Revolution, presented a rather different picture of church scenes:

"Deprived of all the shows and public diversions whatever, the church is the grand theater where they attend, to display their extravagance and finery. There they come dressed in their finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the most superb plumes. The hair of the head is raised and supported upon cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the manner in which the French ladies wore their hair years ago." — Quoted in FISHER, *Men, Women, and Manners*, I, p. 88.

Like her northern neighbors, Virginia was interested in morals. She attempted to regulate the manners of her people by law. In 1723 we find the assembly announcing that:

"The proclamations for swearing and drunkenness sett out by the governor and counsell are confirmed by the Assembly; and it is further ordered that the Church wardens shall be sworne to present them to the commanders of every plantation and that the forfeitures shall be collected by them to be for public use." — In HENING, *Statutes at Large*, 1723, p. 126.

Twenty years later:

"Be it also enacted and confirmed for the better observation of the Sabbath, that no persons shall take a voyage upon the same except it be to church, or for the other cause of the extreme necessitie, upon the penalty of the forfeiture for such offense of twenty pounds of tobacco, being justly convicted for the same."

The same year:

"Noe debts made for wines or strong waters shall be pleadable or recoverable in any court of justice." — In HENING, *Statutes at Large*, 1743, pp. 261, 287.

The Witchcraft Scare. No story of New England would be complete without some account of the witchcraft scare that swept over it in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The delusion that human beings might form an alliance with Satan and become his instruments for working harm was not limited to America. It broke out in various parts of the world. It was especially violent among the devout Puritans, however, because to them God and Satan were very real, and as good men and women were proofs of the existence of God, so persons linked with the Evil One were proofs of his existence.

One girl, Margaret Rule, after some hours of previous disturbance in the —

. . . "Publick Assembly fell into odd Fits, which caused her Friends to carry her home, where her Fits in a few hours, grew into a Figure that satisfied the Spectators of their being preternatural."

Cotton Mather, a renowned Puritan preacher and scholar, described the case:

"The Young Woman was assaulted by Eight cruel Spectres, whereof she imagined she knew three or four, but the rest came still with their Faces cover'd, so that she could never have a distinguishing view of the contenance of those whom she thought she knew: she was very careful of my reitterated charges to forbear blazing the Names, lest any good Person should come to suffer any blast of Reputation thro' the cunning Malice of the great Accuser; nevertheless having since privately named them to my self, I will venture to say this of them, that they are a sort of Wretches who for many years have gone under as Violent Presumptions of Witchcraft, as perhaps any creatures yet living upon Earth: altho I am farr from thinking that the Visions of this Young Woman were evidence enough to prove them so." — Cotton Mather, *Narratives of Witchcraft Cases*, pp. 310, 311.

Superstition, which played so large a part in bringing on the witchcraft scare, also played a large part in securing evidence against the alleged witches:

"There were some that had a mind to try whether the Stories of Witches not being able to sink under water, were true, and accordingly a Man and Woman mentioned in Ann Cole's . . . discourse, had their hands and feet tyed, and so were cast into the water, and they both apparently swam after the manner of a Buoy, part under, part above the Water. A by-stander imagining that any person bound in that posture would be so borne up, offered himself for trial, but being in like manner gently laid on the Water, he immediately sunk right down. This was no legal Evidence against the suspected persons; nor were they proceeded against on such account. However, doubting [fearing] that a Halter would choke them, though the Water would not, they very fairly took their flight, not having been seen in that part of the world since." — Increase Mather, *Narratives of Witchcraft Cases*, p. 21.

Education and Religion. Religion was a very important influence in the life of the majority of the settlers of New England. They believed that a knowledge of the Bible was necessary to right living. In order that people might be able to read and understand the Scriptures they made unusual provisions for education. The first public school was established by law in Massachusetts in 1642:

"It being one chiefe plot of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, . . . and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers . . .

"It is therefore ordered in every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord has increased it to the number of 50 households, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade . . . and it is further ordered that where ever any town shall increase to the number of 100 families they shall set up a gramer schoole . . . to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." — *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, p. 203.

A real religious training demanded educated ministers, so we find that —

"After God had carried us safe to New England and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries, and fitted the Civil Government:

HARVARD COLLEGE

One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as we are thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly Gentleman and a lover of learning, then living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700 £) towards the erecting of a Colledge and all his library: after him another gave 300 £, others after him cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge (a place very pleasant and accomodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge." — From COTTON MATHER, "New England's First Fruits," *Old South Leaflets*, No. 51.

Not to be outdone by Massachusetts, Connecticut colonists determined to have a college also. They were desperately poor, but willing to give what they had. One James Fitch in 1701 offered —

. . . "to provide glass for a house, and if people doe not come up to offer what is reasonable and needfull, that I will then provid nails of all sorts to be used in building a house and hall; 2ly I give a farme 637 acres of land."

The same year the assembly granted a charter for the establishment of a Collegiate School:

"Whereas several well disposed and Publick spirited Persons of their sincere Regard to & Zeal for upholding & Propagating of the Christian Protestant Religion by a succession of Learned & Orthodox men have expressed by Petition their earnest desires that full Liberty and Priviledge be granted unto Certain Undertakers for the founding, suitably endowing, & ordering a Collegiate School within his Majesties Colony of Connecticut wherein Youth may be instructed in the Arts & Sciences who thorough the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for Public employment both in Church & Civil State." — *Documentary History of Yale University*, pp. 20, 21.

Yale College

Later, generous gifts of Elihu Yale, a rich English merchant whose nephew had been governor of the Connecticut colony, caused his name to be given to this "Collegiate School" which developed into a college.

The people of early Virginia likewise showed an interest in education, chiefly from a desire to Christianize the Indians. In 1616 Pocahontas visited England, and the resulting interest in the natives was reflected in King James I's letter to his bishops authorizing them to collect funds for the building of a college in Virginia to educate Indian youth. Two years later the London

Company ordered the establishment at Henrico of a University of which this Indian college should be a branch and endowed it with 10,000 acres of land.

The records of the Virginia Company noted —

. . . "a thing most worthy to be taken into consideration both for the glory of God and honor of the Company, that forasmuch as the King in his most gracious favour hath guaranteed his lettres to the severall Bishops of this Kingdom for the collecting of monies to erect and build a Colledge in Virginia for the trayning and bringing up of Infidells children to the true knowledge of God & understanding of righteousness." — *Records of the Virginia Company*, I, p. 220.

Money was collected and plans made to establish the school at Henrico, but the Indian uprising of 1622 resulted in the murder of the Superintendent of the college lands and of 346 other unsuspecting settlers. For a while nothing more was done about a Virginia college. In the reign of William and Mary the matter was reopened and a generous charter granted for the establishment in Virginia of a college which was to bear the name of the sovereigns, which was not, however, to be for the education of "Infidells" exclusively, but principally for the training of Virginia youth.

A Plan for Securing Intercolonial Cooperation. As time went on, the colonists overcame their most serious difficulties. An interest in general advancement and a respect for each other's accomplishments began to develop. Understanding the importance of this, Benjamin Franklin, author, inventor, and statesman, and the foremost man of the colonial period, suggested a plan to secure better conditions:

"The English are possessed of a long tract of continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, extending north and south through different climates, having different soils, producing different plants, mines, and minerals, and capable of different improvements, manufactures, etc.

"The first drudgery of settling new colonies, which confines the attention of the people to mere necessaries, is now pretty well over; and there are many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease, and afford leisure to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge. To such of these who are men of speculation many hints must from time to time arise, many observations occur,

which if well examined, pursued, and improved, might produce discoveries to the advantage of some or all of the British plantations or to the benefit of mankind in general.

"But as from the extent of the country such persons are widely separated, and seldom can see and converse and be acquainted with each other, so that many useful particulars remain uncommunicated, die with the discoverers, and are lost to mankind; it is to remedy this inconvenience for the future proposed:

"That one society be formed of . . . ingenious men residing in the several colonies, to be called The American Philosophical Society, who are to maintain a constant correspondence." — *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, I, p. 481.

His suggestion brought results, and in time the Society was formed. Franklin's appeal is interesting and instructive, for it helps us see that in spite of the great attention given to politics and the necessity for constant hard work, our colonial ancestors found time for interest in the advancement of knowledge.

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

I. Rise of New France — *Hart, p. 14*

A. Early French explorations
   1. Fishermen.
   2. Champlain.
   3. Missionaries and traders.

B. La Salle and the Mississippi Valley
   1. Discovery of the Mississippi.
   2. Settlement of Louisiana. (*a*) New Orleans. (*b*) The Illinois country.

Special Report: Life of La Salle (see page 549)

II. Contrast Between the French and English Colonies — *Van Loon, pp. 323–329*

A. Character of settlements
   1. French few in number and scattered.
   2. English between the mountains and the coast.

B. Government
   1. French, ruled from France autocratically.
   2. English, large share of local self-government.

C. Preparation for war
   1. French, more soldiers.
   2. English, larger numbers.

III. Beginnings of Warfare — *Fite, pp. 88–90*

A. English at first indifferent to French

B. Three intercolonial wars
   1. European wars reflected in America. (*a*) King William's War (1689–1697). (*b*) Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). (*c*) King George's War (1744–1748).

C. English awake to danger from French

IV. The Great Struggle — *Fite, pp. 91, 92*; *Poems, p. 119*

A. The crisis in the Ohio Valley
   1. Virginia pushes westward.
   2. French plan to hold the Ohio Valley.
   3. Washington's embassy.
   4. The Albany Congress.

B. The French and Indian War (1754–1763)
   1. Known in Europe as Seven Years' War.
   2. Early British losses. (*a*) Braddock's defeat.
   3. William Pitt in the English government.
   4. Fourfold plan of the British.
   5. Wolfe captures Quebec (1759).

C. The Treaty of Paris (1763)
   1. Terms of the treaty regarding America.
   2. Effects of the treaty.

Problems

TOPIC

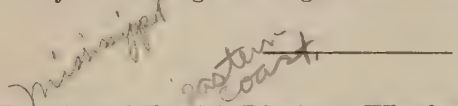
I. Most of the French were Catholics. What connection did this fact have with the activity of French fishermen?

II. What effect did England's control of the sea have on war in America?

III. Virginia claimed a great deal of territory west of the mountains: Maryland had no western land claims. What difference would there have been in your attitude toward the danger from the French if you had lived in Virginia or in Maryland?

IV. Why was the possession of the Ohio valley so important to the French? to the English? If you notice where the passes through the mountains are located, and remember that rivers are natural highways, it will help you to answer this question.

Why did France give the region west of the Mississippi river to Spain?



French and English Rivalry. Whether the valleys and plains of the great interior of America should belong to France or to England was for many years an unsettled question. Other rivals for power in the new world had been easily disposed of. After the defeat of the Invincible Armada, the Spanish colony in Florida had grown but little; the Swedish settlement on the Delaware had never been large; and the Dutch on the Hudson had been easily conquered. The only remaining foes of the British colonies were the French and the Indians who at times leagued together to hem in the English and confine them to the Atlantic seaboard.

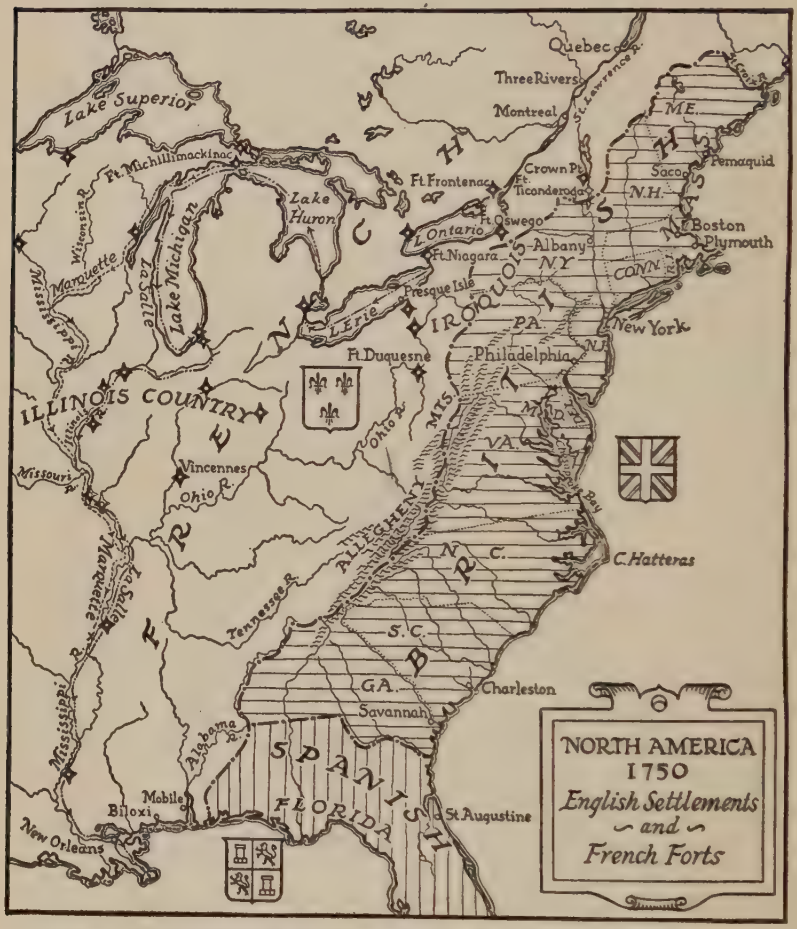
Importance of Quebec Settlement. The story of New France is a dramatic one, full of thrilling adventures and daring exploits. Since the first discovery of Newfoundland, French fishermen had been coming annually to the New World to catch and salt great cargoes of codfish. They had also made a settlement at Port

Royal, which grew slowly. But the key to the great empire which France established in America was Quebec, the natural fortress of the St. Lawrence valley. Behind the English settlements from Maine to Georgia lay the Appalachian mountains over which the journey to the interior of the continent was exceedingly difficult. From Quebec, the great river highway of the St. Lawrence led the way easily to the Great Lakes. Down the St. Lawrence to Quebec came each year fleets of birchbark canoes loaded with furs which Indian trappers were eager to exchange for the trinkets and cloth of France. As they beheld these visitors from an unknown wilderness, the fur traders and missionaries of Quebec were strongly tempted to follow them up the great river to their homes, the fur traders foreseeing untold profits, and the missionaries dreaming of an equally rich harvest of saved souls.

The French Quarrel with the Iroquois. No sooner was Quebec planted in 1608 than Champlain, its founder, set the fashion of exploration. He discovered Lake Champlain, personally visited Lake Huron, and sent an agent to deal with the Indians of Wisconsin. In 1609, Champlain, accompanied by some Indians of the St. Lawrence country, came into conflict with a band of Iroquois warriors and killed two of their number. The Iroquois Indians, whose home was in what is now northern and western New York, were the most powerful tribes in America. The bitter and lasting hatred toward the French which resulted from Champlain's encounter with them made the Iroquois Indians ready and willing allies of the Dutch and the English in New York. This friendship was of untold value to the English colonists.

French Explorations North of the Great Lakes. In the wake of Champlain came a great host of French explorers who year by year pressed further inland along the natural highways of river and lake. As they advanced there sprang up fur trading posts for dealing with the Indians, mission stations where Jesuit missionaries labored earnestly to win the Indian warriors to the Christian faith, and forts to guard the strategic points. Because of the enmity of the Iroquois Indians, who held the Niagara gateway, it was necessary for the French to take another route farther

north by way of the Ottawa river to Lake Huron. In consequence, Lake Erie was the last of the Great Lakes to be discovered. Along



Between the mountains and the sea lay the thirteen English colonies. South of them was Spanish Florida, while north and west stretched the vast area claimed by France and occupied chiefly by trading posts, mission stations, and forts.

this more northerly route moved the explorers and traders who found Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, pushed through the

wilderness to the upper waters of the Mississippi river, and even reached the shores of Hudson bay.

The French Exploration of the Mississippi. For years the French listened to Indian tales of a great mid-continent river; but whether it were only the upper part of the mighty St. Lawrence, or whether it flowed westward to the Pacific, or yet whether it might be that same great river which the Spanish De Soto had found, there was none who knew. A Jesuit priest, Marquette, and a fur trader, Joliet, journeyed down the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, far enough to satisfy them that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. But it was left for La Salle, perhaps the greatest of American explorers, to sail down the Mississippi to its mouth (1682). With elaborate ceremonies he took possession of all the territory drained by the great river and named it Louisiana in honor of King Louis of France.

Robert Cavelier de La Salle, 1643–1687

French Claims Extended to the Gulf. After La Salle's death a settlement was made (1699) at Biloxi on the Gulf. New Orleans[1] was established in 1718 and grew to be a prosperous French colony. Numerous small settlements were also made in the Illinois country. Here the productive soil became the basis for growth and prosperity, and shipments of flour were sent each year to New Orleans and Quebec.

Characteristics of Settlements in New France. Between the French and the English colonies there were wide differences. Canada did not consist of farms and neighborly settlements. The three chief ports on the St. Lawrence, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, were about seventy miles apart. The French

[1] New Orleans was located on the *east* bank of the Mississippi river about one hundred miles from its mouth.

neglected farming because trapping and fur trading offered greater opportunities for profit. To bind the scattered settlements together and protect them from attack, a chain of sixty forts was established at points of advantage all through the great French domain which now extended from Acadia on the Atlantic coast, up the St. Lawrence valley, included the region about the Great Lakes, and stretched down the fertile valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. It was a vast extent of territory sparsely inhabited by perhaps 80,000 French, a large part of whom were wood rangers, fur traders, or soldiers.

French Soldier

The English Colonies by 1750. By 1750, the English colonists along the Atlantic seacoast numbered from a million to a million and a half, most of whom were home owners with a settled occupation. Farming, ship-building, iron-making, as well as a considerable commerce, gave stability to the English colonies.

Lack of Liberty in French Colonies. In other respects there were sharp contrasts. The French king, who was a Catholic, had forbidden any except Catholics to come to New France. Even the French Huguenots were not allowed in Canada; many of them, in consequence, settled in the English colonies. The French plan of government was absolute in form; all the laws were made by the king, and the French colonists were expected to obey in all things the officers whom he sent out.

Contrast in English Colonies. In every English colony, on the other hand, a legislature to make laws for the community had been set up, and many of the settlers had a share in choosing their officers.

Military Advantages of the French. For the carrying on of war, the French were better prepared than the English. Many of the former were soldiers; the latter were followers of the arts of peace. New France was united under a single control; while the English colonies were separated and were very jealous of each other. And while in America the French were greatly outnumbered, in Europe they were three times as numerous as the English. Finally, the French policy toward the Indians was generally successful in winning their support, not only because they were more tactful in dealing with the red men, but also because the building of French trading posts and French forts did not disturb the Indians' way of living nor drive them away from their hunting grounds. The French were interested in the fur trade and not in felling the forests and planting fields as were the English.

British Soldier Figures

King William's War and Its Influence on American Colonies. The English colonies clustered along the Atlantic seaboard were slow to realize the menace to themselves in the chain of French trading posts and forts extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Mississippi delta. A series of three wars of European origin made the danger clear. In the first of these, known in America as King William's War, Frontenac, the French governor of Canada, vigorously and savagely attacked the long line of the English frontier at widely separated points, in New York, New Hampshire, and Maine. Except for a feeble attempt to secure cooperation which was made at a colonial congress held at New York in 1690, there was no result of any importance in America.

Queen Anne's War. A few years later, a second war, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession, in America as Queen Anne's War, found the English colonists somewhat better prepared to meet the attacks of French and Indians from Canada. In fact, the English succeeded in capturing Port Royal, and the French ceded all of Acadia (now Nova Scotia) to the English in the final treaty.

Importance of Louisburg in King George's War. In the thirty years of peace which followed this war, the French built a great fortress at Louisburg on Cape Breton island. This was regarded as the stoutest stronghold on the whole Atlantic coast. From the Louisburg harbor sailed French vessels which seriously annoyed the New England fishermen. To Louisburg returned the Indian war parties from their murderous raids on the English colonists in Maine. Louisburg became a thorn in the flesh of all New England. So when the third war, the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War, broke out, plans were at once made for the capture of this fortress. An army comprised of troops from all the New England colonies cooperated with a naval force from England, and succeeded in capturing the fort. The war in Europe, however, was so indecisive that by the treaty of peace each side surrendered all its conquests. The giving up of Louisburg, which had been won and held by New England valor, was a cause of serious dissatisfaction among the colonists who began to believe that the mother country cared not at all for their welfare.

The Question of the Possession of the Ohio Valley. The chief result of the three intercolonial wars just mentioned was to bring home to both the French and the English the fact that a serious conflict for the possession of America was inevitable. So long as the French held the Mississippi valley, they would be moved to gain access to the Atlantic by a more direct route than either the St. Lawrence or the Gulf of Mexico afforded. So long as the English held the long strip of Atlantic coast, their natural course of expansion would be westward into the Mississippi valley. The possession of the upper valley of the Ohio quickly became the first bone of contention.

Virginia's Settlements in the Ohio Valley. The Virginians were the first of the English to move over the mountain wall which hemmed in the colonists. In 1718 their governor, Alexander Spotswood, led a gay company of cavaliers over the Blue Ridge and explored the beautiful Shenandoah valley. Settlers followed; some of them from eastern Virginia; others of them Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania, who moved southward across the Potomac and up the Shenandoah river. Adventurous English fur traders pushed still further westward, and the Virginians began to dream of an empire to the west of the Alleghenies. In 1748 they formed a company (the Ohio Company) to make settlements in the valley of the Ohio.

BEFORE THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

French Efforts to Hold Ohio Territory. The French likewise realized the importance of holding the Ohio valley as the connecting link between Canada and Louisiana. The chain of existing forts was strengthened, and sites were selected for new ones, but money to build them and soldiers to man them were lacking. So Bienville, the commander of a French force, undertook to hold the territory for France by nailing signs to the trees, and burying lead plates at the mouth of each of the tributaries of the Ohio. These plates bore an inscription proclaiming that all the land drained by the river belonged to the king of France.

Washington's Expedition. Moving to secure possession of the "Forks of the Ohio," where Pittsburgh now stands, the French in 1753 built a log stockade at Fort le Boeuf, a hundred miles north of that place. They seized and destroyed a small English trading post. In November of that year the governor of Virginia sent Major George Washington, then only twenty-one years

of age, to remonstrate with the French against their occupying a district which the English claimed. It was a difficult and dangerous journey of three hundred miles through the almost trackless wilderness, and resulted only in making the French more determined to hold their ground. In January, a little party of thirty-three Virginians began to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers (the forks of the Ohio), and in the spring George Washington was sent with a company of two hundred men to reenforce them. Before Washington arrived, however, the French had captured the partly built fort, completed it, and named it Fort Duquesne.

The Albany Plan of Union. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia now undertook to secure the cooperation of all the colonies to dislodge the French from the stronghold which they had gained. But the spirit of dissension which existed in different settlements was strong, and intercolonial jealousies were bitter. Several of the colonies refused to help and many others were indifferent. Delegates from seven of them met at Albany to try to adopt some plan of cooperation against the French and Indians. Here Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan of union, which failed of adoption. The king refused his approval because it gave too much power to the colonies, while the colonists rejected it because it gave too much power to the king. The settlers in America had little faith in the king and distrusted and disliked each other. The urge of a common cause was not yet strong enough to overcome the natural hesitancy of men toward giving up part of their own way for the good of all. The colonies were not ready for teamwork.

The Outbreak of the French and Indian War. About this time, the greatest war of the century began in Central Europe. This was the Seven Years' War, in which Prussia and England were fighting against Austria, Russia, France, and Spain. In America the war is usually known as the French and Indian War because most of the Indians, except the Iroquois, were allied with the French. The early part of the war in America went badly for the English. General Braddock was sent over from England with a force of regulars to capture Fort Duquesne. They were surprised by the French and Indians who fought from behind

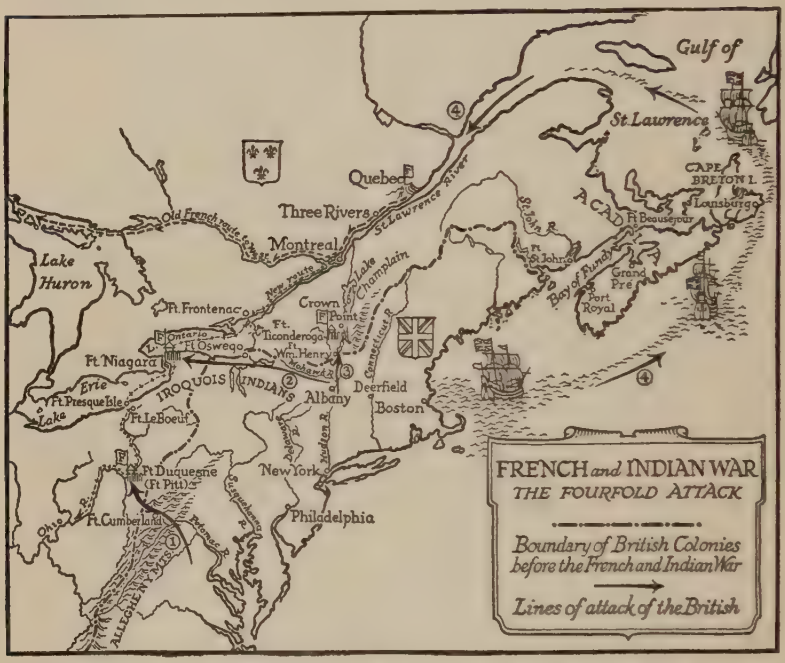
rocks, bushes, and trees. The British troops, not used to this kind of fighting, were quickly cut to pieces. Braddock and a thousand of his soldiers were killed. Only the courage and ability of young George Washington, who had two horses shot under him, and whose uniform was pierced by bullets, saved the expedition from annihilation. A horrible massacre of English prisoners at Fort William Henry on Lake George by the Indian allies of the French, and the loss of Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario added to the miseries of the English.

The Policy of the English Minister, Pitt. In 1757, however, William Pitt, the greatest English statesman of the century, and one of the greatest war ministers in her history, became the head of the English government. "At last," said Frederick the Great of Prussia, "England has brought forth a man." Under Pitt's leadership, England prepared herself for the great struggle with renewed zeal. She had battle fronts in many places, and although the center of the struggle was to be Europe, England's real interest was in her colonial power in Asia, Africa, and America. In Europe, Frederick the Great with his English ally held back the forces of Russia, Austria, France, and Spain. On the colonial frontiers England's great opponent was France. In India, Robert Clive, a young English clerk in a countinghouse, developed such power of leadership that he drove out the French and won for his nation an enormous empire. In Africa, English colonial power was advanced. But from the standpoint of American history, it was in America that the most significant events took

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, 1708–1778

Pitt was one of the great English statesmen who constantly supported the cause of the colonies.

place. To both French and English colonists, the war of the mother countries gave the opportunity for which they had been longing, the chance to decide the colonial control of the new world. Fired with Pitt's spirit, a British army of 22,000 men was raised for service in America, where the colonies, equally enthu-



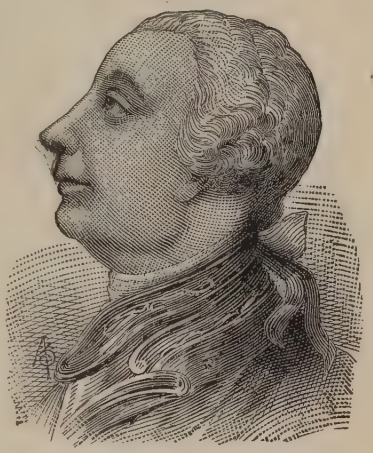
Land forces were sent towards Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, and Crown Point, while the naval forces captured Louisburg and then headed for Quebec.

siastic, raised money and troops on a scale never before attempted. By the spring of 1758, 50,000 men were ready for action.

Plan for the Campaign. A fourfold plan of campaign was adopted. One army was to follow the gateway to the Ohio country and wipe out the stain of Braddock's defeat by the capture of Fort Duquesne. A second army was to follow the Mohawk river highway, capture Fort Niagara, and enter Canada by that route. A third force was to march against Forts Ticonderoga

and Crown Point and thence by way of Lake Champlain and the riverways to Quebec. The fourth was to go by sea, recapture the fortress of Louisburg and close the gateway of the St. Lawrence.[1]

Success of the Plan. The new spirit which Pitt had inspired in the armies compelled success. Before the end of 1758, Louisburg fell, and Fort Duquesne was captured and renamed Fort Pitt. By the next July, Fort Niagara was likewise in the hands of the British. Three of the expeditions had performed their tasks, while the fourth, after a terrible defeat, rallied and captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then moved slowly forward toward Quebec.



James Wolfe, 1727–1759

Although frail of body, and with a decided interest in literature, Wolfe's ambition was to be a soldier. His steady determination made him one of England's most distinguished generals.

Wolfe's Victory at Quebec. By 1759, the British navy had swept the seas of the last vestige of French naval power and the French in Canada could look for no help from home. General Wolfe was then commissioned to capture Quebec. With a large naval force he moved cautiously up the St. Lawrence river. The fortress of Quebec stood at the top of a very high bluff, rising perpendicularly from the river. After a long search, Wolfe discovered a way to reach the top of the cliff. Under cover of darkness, he embarked with 3500 men in small boats, and reached the wooded path which allowed his men to climb single file up a ravine to the heights. When morning broke, the astonished French, under the command of Marquis de Montcalm, beheld the red coats of the British on the Plains of Abraham. The

[1] These four natural highways were the only routes which could be used on account of the mountain barriers elsewhere.

French attacked, and the battle was sharp and decisive. The British were victorious and Quebec was taken. But the thought of victory and defeat were forgotten in the sorrow of the day, for both Montcalm and Wolfe were killed. Wolfe, as his head dropped over his breast, was told that his men had won the fight and cried, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace." Montcalm, who had been longing to return to his much-loved chestnut groves in France, when he was shot from his beautiful black horse, exclaimed, "So much the better: I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." The next year, Montreal was captured, and all Canada was at the mercy of the British. The French empire in America was at an end.

Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, 1712–1759

Terms of the Peace Treaty. Peace was signed at Paris in 1763. By its terms France gave to England all of Canada and all her possessions east of the Mississippi river, except New Orleans, and two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland which were reserved as fishing stations. By the same treaty France gave to Spain, her ally in the war, New Orleans and all her possessions west of the Mississippi river. At the same time Spain gave Florida to England. The Seven Years' War changed the kingdom of Great Britain into the British empire. India as well as America was added to her dominion.

"Quebec Taken" Medal

Issued by the British Government in honor of its victory. The original is in the Antiquarian Society Collection, Montreal, Canada.

Importance of Peace of Paris in American History. The peace of Paris is full of meaning in the history of America. The danger of organized Indian attacks on the western frontier was greatly lessened. The vast territory west of the Alleghenies was open to settlement, and the hardy pioneers and woodsmen were soon moving forward into the promised land. The French statesman, Vergennes, also foresaw another result of the treaty of Paris: "England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They no longer stand in need of her protection: she will call upon them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

After the French and Indian War

History shows with what prophetic vision the Frenchman spoke.

CHAPTER XI

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

I. Fundamental Causes — *Hart, p. 132*

A. The American spirit of liberty — *Fite, pp. 71, 117, 118, 121, 122*
1. "Immemorial rights of Englishmen."
2. Local self-government.

B. Attitude of the new king
1. George III appoints servile ministers.
2. Parliament is corrupted.

C. Adoption of a new colonial policy
1. Trade laws to be enforced.
2. A standing army established
3. Taxes levied by Parliament.

II. Taxation Becomes the Issue — *Southworth, pp. 5–8, 9–12*

A. The Stamp Act of 1765 — *Fite, p. 121*
1. Its provisions.
2. Colonial objections. — *Hart, pp. 128, 137*
3. Taxation without representation.
4. The Stamp Act Congress. — *Poems, p. 134*
5. British trade affected.
6. Stamp Act repealed.

B. The Townsend Acts of 1767
1. A new attempt to enforce trade laws.
2. Writs of assistance.
3. Colonial governors to be paid from England.
4. New taxes levied.

C. Renewed resistance of the colonies
1. Non-importation agreements.
2. Committees of correspondence.
3. Objections to British troops.

D. All Taxes Repealed Except on Tea
1. The Boston Tea Party.

III. The Punishment of Massachusetts — *Poems, p. 138, 154, 168*

A. The Intolerable Acts of 1774 — *Fite, pp. 126–128*
1. Port of Boston closed.
2. Charter of Massachusetts changed.
3. Town meetings abolished.
4. Soldiers to be quartered in people's houses.
5. Transfer of criminal trials to England.

B. The First Continental Congress
   1. Twelve colonies represented.
   2. Sent petition to king.

C. Independence not the aim
   1. Opinion of Americans.
   2. British efforts at reconciliation.

D. The kindling of the flame
   1. The minute men.
   2. Battle of Lexington and Concord.
   3. Bunker Hill.

E. The war begun
   1. Second Continental Congress meets.
   2. Washington named commander-in-chief.

Problems

TOPIC

I. Is it possible to justify New England merchants for smuggling?

III. Why were the Whigs in England opposed to the colonial policy of King George III?

Exercise: Imagine that you lived in Boston at the time of the Boston Tea Party and that your father came home with tea leaves in his pockets and boots. Write a letter to your cousin in Pennsylvania about the Tea Party.

Exercise: Make a list of the causes of the Revolution in order of their importance.

Special Report: Life of Benjamin Franklin (see page 551)

Special Report: Life of George Washington (see page 553)

Development of the American Spirit of Independence. The treaty of 1763 established the fact that English laws, customs and manners, and the English language were to dominate the new world of North America. But whether these colonies, unfettered by fear of enemies and with boundless resources, would remain docile daughters to old mother England, only time could tell.

A new spirit began to stir among the colonists when the danger of French invasion had passed. Many of the settlers had come to America to find a larger liberty than the Old World afforded. They had brought with them the liberties and privileges which their ancestors had won in many a contest with headstrong kings

and cruel ministers of state. These "immemorial rights of Englishmen" they cherished with what Edmund Burke called a "fierce spirit of liberty." But over and above these ancient rights, they had learned in the hard school of experience much of the art of self-government. They had become accustomed to their own town meetings and colonial legislatures where taxes were voted and laws governing local affairs were enacted. In short, they had become self-dependent. Observing this, the French statesman, Turgot, said, "Colonies are like fruits: they stick to the tree only while they are green; as soon as they are able to take care of themselves they do what Carthage did and what America will do." The Americans of 1765 were beginning to feel the thrill of being able to take care of themselves.

Policy of George III. The problem of colonial government was, therefore, one which required a high degree of wisdom, a wisdom which England sadly lacked at that time. George III, who became king in 1760, was the first of the German kings of the House of Hanover who really cared for his kingdom. His predecessors, George I and George II, bored and weary with the constant clatter of a language they did not understand, had allowed the royal power to slip away, while they peacefully slept through cabinet meetings. But George III, encouraged by an ambitious mother, was determined to be "a real king."

His first step was to ignore the great political leaders of the day, such as William Pitt, Edmund Burke, and Charles James Fox,[1] and select for his advisers, second rate men who would more willingly do his bidding. In the next place, Parliament, in whose election the common people of England had very little part, was corrupted by the king's efforts. Its members were bribed by money and offices to do his will.

The New Colonial Policy. George III was determined to assert his authority whenever the opportunity afforded. The treaty of 1763 made him the master of a vast new colonial empire. In India as well as in America, extensive new domains had come

[1] William Pitt, the leading spirit during the war with France, was one of England's greatest statesmen. Edmund Burke was a famous Irish orator and leader. Charles James Fox was a Whig leader. All three men sympathized with the American cause.

under the sway of British rule. It seemed to be an ideal time to adopt a new colonial policy. Lord Grenville, one of the king's ministers, devised a plan; it pleased the king, and was sanctioned by parliament. So far as America was concerned, this

The British Colonies in America included not only the thirteen which declared their independence, but Nova Scotia, Quebec (whose boundaries were extended to the Ohio river in 1774), East and West Florida, and the territory of the Hudson Bay Company.

policy provided: (1) that certain Trade and Navigation Laws which had long been dead letters on the statute books of the realm should now be rigidly enforced; (2) that a standing army should be maintained in America; (3) that taxes should be levied in the colonies to help support this army.

Colonial Objections. The chief difficulty with this new policy was that it failed to take account of the liberty loving spirit of the American colonists. There were other objections also. The Trade and Navigation Laws were designed to keep the profits of colonial trade for British merchants. Under the pretense of regulating commerce Parliament had levied such heavy taxes on colonial trade with foreign countries that the colonists felt they would have no profits left if they paid the tax. For years these laws had not been enforced, and colonial merchants had built up an illegal trade which ran into millions of dollars. The new policy of enforcement would destroy that trade and ruin the merchants.

The colonists objected also to the presence of a standing army in America. It was true that an Indian uprising in the Ohio valley was even then giving the English the excuse that the colonists needed protection, but, with the danger from the French removed, the Americans felt they were very well able to take care of themselves. They feared the king had some hidden motive in wanting such a large body of English troops in the colonies. Therefore, the idea of paying taxes for the partial support of such undesired protectors was especially unwelcome.

The Stamp Act. Before determining on the form of tax to be levied, Lord Grenville asked the various colonial legislatures to prepare a plan for levying and collecting it. After waiting more than a year and getting no reply, he proposed and Parliament passed the Stamp Act of 1765 which provided that all newspapers, pamphlets, wills, real estate deeds, and many other legal documents must be written or printed on stamped paper, to be sold by officials appointed for the purpose. All revenues derived from the sale of this stamped paper were to be expended in the colonies for their benefit.

Colonial Opposition. The British government was surprised at the storm of protest which arose in America. The colonists claimed that the Stamp Act was an internal tax and therefore could be levied only by their colonial legislatures. They admitted Parliament's right to levy external taxes for the purpose of regulating trade, but denied any further taxing power. Accus-

tomed to voting directly for representatives in their colonial legislatures, they absolutely refused to accept the argument of the king's friends that Parliament represented not only the English in England but also the English in America. They insisted that only a legislature in which they were actually represented could levy internal taxes.

The King was blamed for all the trouble; and Patrick Henry, a young orator in the Virginia House of Burgesses, expressed a feeling that became very popular when he said, " Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III (pause while voices cried 'Treason') may profit by their example."

Stamp of 1765

Colonial opposition to the Stamp Act expressed itself in riots, protests, and non-importation agreements. Each colony felt that its most sacred right, that of levying its own taxes, was being assailed. The colonists forgot for a time their old jealousies and acted together to call a meeting to decide what should be done. This gathering of delegates, known as the Stamp Act Congress, was a significant step toward union. After an eleven-day meeting a " declaration of rights and grievances " was adopted. The central thought set forth in all the deliberations of the Stamp Act Congress was that His Majesty's subjects in the colonies " owe the same allegiance and are entitled to the same inherent rights and liberties " as " his natural born subjects " in Great Britain.

English Attitude Toward Stamp Act. Interest in the Stamp Act was not lacking in England. Pitt boldly proclaimed that it was not " right " to tax the colonies, Burke that it was not " expedient," and Fox that it was not " wise."

Repeal of Stamp Act. Of this last fact British merchants became entirely convinced. The Americans in different colonies entered into compacts called non-importation agreements, by which they pledged themselves not to buy English goods. The effect was soon felt. The colonists would neither give orders for

new goods nor pay for what they had actually received, and many merchants who were heavy taxpayers faced bankruptcy in consequence. Petitions for the repeal of the Stamp Act came from the English in England as well as the English in America. Its unpopularity both at home and in the colonies led to the introduction of a measure in Parliament for its repeal. The King consented reluctantly, and after a strenuous debate the repeal measure carried.

The joy of the colonists was unrestrained. Bonfires, parades, and rejoicings celebrated the "victory," and little attention was paid to another act of Parliament passed at the same time which had in it the possibility of upsetting all the colonists had gained. This was the Declaratory Act, which stated that the British government had a right to legislate for the colonies "in all matters whatsoever."

The Townshend Acts. In 1767, another English minister, Charles Townshend, induced Parliament to pass new measures for raising revenue in America. These acts provided: (1) for a new and more vigorous effort to enforce the acts of trade through a board of customs commissioners; (2) that "writs of assistance" should be made legal;[1] (3) that colonial governors and judges should be paid from the royal treasury and not by the colonies they served; (4) that new and rather heavy duties should be levied on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painter's colors.

Opposition Resulted in Colonial Committees of Correspondence. Again the protest of the colonists was quick and clear; the charter privileges of the colonies must not be destroyed nor the immemorial rights of British freemen invaded. Massachusetts was the first to be heard. The town meeting of Boston declared against importing any British goods under the new duties. Non-importation agreements became general, indignation meetings were held, and the ardent Samuel Adams drew up a circular letter expressing the objections of Massachusetts to the new

[1] These "writs of assistance" were general search warrants, permitting any customs officer to search any place at any time if he suspected the existence of smuggling. James Otis had made a powerful argument against such writs in 1761, and they were very much hated in America.

laws. Seven other colonies expressed their approval of this letter, and similar communications were sent forth by them. This interchange of ideas led to the establishment of colonial "Committees of Correspondence," so that the "liberty men" of each colony might keep in touch with each other.

Boston the Scene of Rioting. When the legislature of Massachusetts refused to withdraw her letter of protest from circulation, two regiments of British troops were sent to Boston. Their presence led to bitter feelings. The soldiers were jeered at and

Boston 1768

insulted, and on March 5, 1770, five citizens were killed in the so-called "Boston Massacre" when the infuriated soldiers fired into the crowd. The excitement was intense, but subsided when the troops were removed to an island in the harbor.

The Tea Tax and Its Results. Once more the non-importation agreements had a marked effect on British trade in America, which decreased by almost $4,000,000 in a single year. The merchants of England petitioned Parliament for the repeal of the duties. The new prime minister, Lord North, favored the repeal of all except the duty on tea. The retention of this tax, he said, was a matter of principle. At the dictation of the King, in whose hands the prime minister was a man of clay, Lord North

decided to support "the right of parliamentary taxation." Parliament agreed, and all the other duties were set aside.

At first the continued tea tax seems to have had very little effect on the colonists. They kept up their practice of smuggling tea from Holland, or if they were extreme patriots, refused to use it at all. Renewed prosperity came to the merchant classes, and for three years only a few men in each colony kept alive a spark of opposition to the declared British right to legislate for her colonies.

KING GEORGE III

An English historian described George III as being ill-educated, obstinate, and prejudiced, but good-natured, hardworking, and well-meaning. Certainly he never understood his own limitations as a monarch. England, during his long reign, gained an empire and lost one.

Meanwhile unsold tea was being piled up in the British warehouses of the East India Company. To relieve this situation, the King got his obliging Parliament to allow the East India Company to sell its tea in America without paying the heavy English duty. Thus the company could offer its tea to the colonists at a lower price than they were paying for the same article smuggled from Holland. But the patriots saw through this scheme; they would not be bribed to pay a tax which they had refused to be forced to pay.

When the tea ships arrived in American ports they were rudely received. New York and Philadelphia persuaded the captains to sail back with their cargoes to England. At Charleston, the tea was held in the custom house for three years, when it was sold and the money turned over to the revolutionary government. At Boston, after waiting two weeks for the governor to order the tea sent away, fifty "Indians" pitched the 342 chests of tea into the ocean. This was the "Boston Tea Party" of 1773. An English writer on hearing of this event said, "Beware, little

town, count the cost, and consider well if you dare defy the wrath of Great Britain."

The Intolerable Acts. The wrath was not long in making itself manifest. The British government was outraged at this defiance of the royal power. The king's anger was expressed in a series of measures designed to punish Massachusetts and bring all the colonies to a sense of the real authority of Parliament. These measures are often called the Intolerable Acts of 1774.

The first of these closed the Port of Boston until the inhabitants should pay for the tea destroyed. The second changed the charter of Massachusetts in such a manner that the people were deprived of much of their power, while that of the crown was greatly increased. The third abolished the town meetings. So prompt were the other colonies in expressing their sympathies with Massachusetts, and so generous in sending food to stricken Boston, deprived of the commerce which was her main source of living, that two other coercive acts were aimed at all the colonies. One provided that the soldiers sent to America, for whom the colonies had stubbornly refused to make provision, should be quartered directly in the homes of the people. The other provided that persons accused of murder while aiding in the enforcement of laws, should be taken to England for trial.

CARPENTER'S HALL, PHILADELPHIA

The meeting place of the First Continental Congress, September, 1774.

The First Continental Congress. The danger to colonial rights and liberties was not limited to Massachusetts. It was a danger to every English subject in America. Concerted action in a common cause was necessary and a call was issued for a Continental Congress. Twelve colonies sent representatives to Phila-

delphia and there on September 5, 1774, began a very solemn meeting which numbered among its delegates such men as John Adams and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, John Jay of New York, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and George Washington of Virginia. This First Continental Congress was in no way disloyal to Great Britain; but it did object to the British policy of dealing with America. The Congress accomplished three things: (1) it urged the formation of an Association among all the colonies for the nonimportation of British goods; (2) it humbly petitioned the king to put an end to their colonial grievances, naming thirteen acts of Parliament which the patriots regarded as "infringements and violations" of their rights; and (3) it provided for the assembling of a Second Continental Congress on May 10, 1775.

Many of the men who took part in the First Continental Congress believed that their dignified petition to the king would bring the home government to terms. They did not yet realize how stubborn the king was, nor how thoroughly he believed in the absolute power of Parliament over the English colonies. They were seeking reconciliation, not independence, at this time. Washington spoke a great truth when he said that independence was not "desired by any thinking man in all America." Samuel Adams referred to a tendency toward independence as something that he would "sincerely deprecate." John Adams declared that the assertion that the people of Massachusetts were eager for independence was "as great a slander on the province as ever was committed to writing."

English Short-Sightedness. The Whig leaders in England were likewise opposed to the king's colonial policy. William Pitt exerted himself for the cause of the colonies, proposing that all the obnoxious acts should be repealed, and that no tax for revenue should ever be required "from British freemen in America." Edmund Burke made a world-famous speech on conciliation. Their efforts, however, were without effect. A new law was passed to prevent the colonies from trading with any countries other than the British empire; while petitions for a redress of colonial grievances were ignored.

The Spirit of Resistance Intensified. Soon the progress of events made reconciliation impossible. General Gage was sent in the summer of 1774 as governor of Massachusetts. He first tried to prevent the colonial legislature from meeting; but it met in spite of his prohibition, appointed a Committee of Safety, and began to gather powder and military stores. Minute men began to drill, and the spirit of resistance to British oppression was in the air.

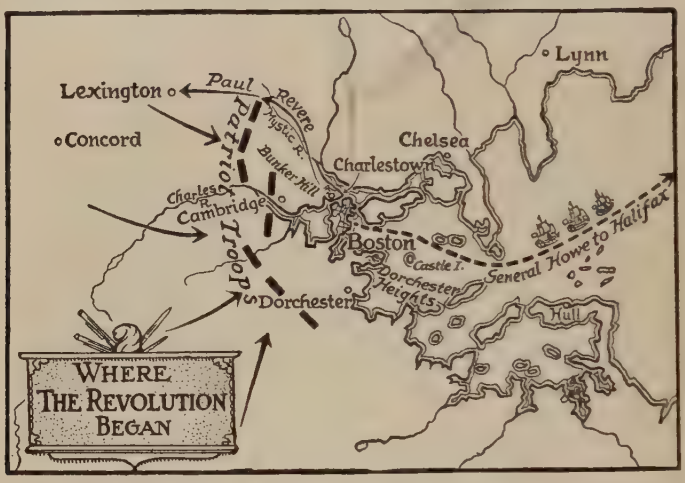
Lexington and Concord. General Gage settled his troops and his personal staff in Boston, and, alarmed by the temper of the people generally, fortified the narrow neck of land which connected Boston with the mainland. News of the military stores gathered by the patriots at Lexington and Concord reached his ears, and some time in April he determined to send an expedition to destroy them. The famous signal, "one if by land and two if by sea," flashed the warning to Paul Revere who was "ready to ride and spread the alarm," and when the redcoats 800 strong reached Lexington at daybreak of April 19, they found sixty or seventy minute men drawn up on the village green. Major Pitcairn, the British commander, ordered them to disperse, and when they failed to obey his men opened fire on them.[1] Here was fired the first gun of the Revolution, a struggle that was in many respects a civil war, in which Englishmen in America won rights of

FANEUIL HALL

Here, in a fiery town meeting, the Bostonians first denounced the Stamp Act, and after that the building was the scene of so many patriotic meetings that it became known as "The Cradle of Liberty."

[1] The British claimed that the first shot was fired by a minute man from behind a stone wall.

self-government for themselves, and by their example encouraged their English cousins across the sea to demand a greater share in their government. From Lexington, the British regulars advanced to Concord where a small engagement was fought and where they succeeded in destroying some of the painfully gathered military stores. When the British began their return march, the patriotic minute men were ready, one company having marched



After the fighting at Concord and Lexington, patriot troops came from all directions and encamped around Boston. They seized Bunker Hill (June, 1775) only to be driven away. After Washington took command, Dorchester Heights was fortified (March, 1776) and the British sailed away to Halifax.

sixteen miles in four hours. From the shelter of rocks and trees and stone walls, they poured a murderous fire on the returning redcoats, until the British, almost exhausted, found shelter under the guns of the king's ships at Charlestown. The first day's battle cost the Americans ninety-three lives, and their enemy three times that number.

The Siege of Boston. It was out of the question for the patriots who had taken part in the battle of Lexington and Concord to return to their homes. To have done that would have been to invite individual arrest for murder and treason. So they went

to the siege of Boston. Other patriots from all New England joined them. Colonel Israel Putnam rode the hundred miles from his home in Connecticut to Boston in eighteen hours. John Stark came from New Hampshire, and Benedict Arnold from Connecticut. Within three days, 18,000 patriots were gathered in a ragged semicircle around the city of Boston.

Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The time for discussion had passed. The differences between mother country

Trench Protection at Breed's Hill
(Usually Known as Bunker Hill)

and daughter colony had caused a chasm that could not be bridged by words. Patriotism in the other colonies glowed with a new fire. The cause of Massachusetts became the cause of all. In May, a Vermonter by the name of Ethan Allen, with a handful of Green Mountain boys, surprised into surrender the important fortress of Ticonderoga, and a few weeks later its companion fort at Crown Point.

Bunker Hill. Meanwhile the siege of Boston continued. The patriots drew their lines tighter, and on the night of June 16,

1775, seized the heights above Charlestown known in history as Bunker Hill.[1] Aroused at last by this action on the part of the "rabble of New England," General Gage ordered his troops to level the fortifications. Twice the British scaled the hill only to be driven back with great losses. The third attempt was successful because the patriots had exhausted their ammunition. The news of their brave stand thrilled America.

The Meeting of the Second Continental Congress. The Second Continental Congress, which had convened in May, could no longer discuss the possibility, or even the advisability, of war. There was war. So they did the inevitable thing, adopted the army at Boston as the Continental army, and appointed Washington as commander-in-chief.

There is a famous saying that "When God creates an occasion, he creates a man to serve it." Two weeks after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Washington arrived from Philadelphia. Under an elm tree[2] in Cambridge he met his officers and assumed command of the American forces. It was one of the greatest moments in our history. The man and the occasion had met.

[1] Breed's Hill, located nearer Boston, was the one actually fortified and the real scene of the battle.

[2] The tree under which this meeting was said to have taken place remained standing until 1923.

Monday

CHAPTER XII

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

I. **The Second Continental Congress** — *Hart, pp. 138, 141*
   - A. Origin and purpose
   - B. Political parties
   - C. Demands of the situation

II. **Shifting Sentiments** — *Poems, p. 140*
   - A. Mother England
   - B. Writings of Thomas Paine
   - C. Employment of the Hessians

III. **The Declaration** — *Poems, p. 177*; *Hart, p. 147*
   - A. Instructions to delegates
   - B. Lee's resolution
   - C. The debate
   - D. Work of the committee

IV. **The Effect** — *Poems, p. 178*
   - A. On the people — *Fite, pp. 135, 162–164*
     1. Foreign relations.
     2. Position of loyalists.
     3. The issue defined.
   - B. On the government
     1. The Grand Committee.
     2. Work of the Continental Congress.

Problem

TOPIC
IV. Imagine yourself engaged in some business in Philadelphia during the debate on the Declaration of Independence. How would the proposed measure have affected your work?

The Colonial Petition Ignored. The delegates to the Second Continental Congress gathered at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, in

accordance with an agreement made when the First Congress adjourned. They hoped to find waiting for them an answer to the "loyal petition for redress of grievances" which had been sent to the king. But no answer had been returned. Instead, the king's minister, while discussing the petition in Parliament, had declared "that the softness of its language was purposely adopted to conceal the most traitorous designs." It seemed to be easier for the king's party to understand a revolution that aimed at independence than a rebellion which hoped only to win for Englishmen in America the justice due to Englishmen everywhere.

Benjamin Franklin
1706–1790

Loyalists and Patriots in America. Whether revolution or rebellion, it was bound to be a civil war. The two great political parties in England, the Tories, or king's friends, and the Whigs, who opposed the extension of the king's powers, became in America the loyalists, who wished to remain British subjects, and the patriots, who were beginning to substitute for the usual phrase, "God save the King," a different expression, "God save the People." In the beginning of the troubles between mother England and her colonies, many of these loyalists had been opposed to the taxation measures of Parliament. But as resistance led to bloodshed and the patriots became bolder, the loyalists became more devout Tories. They sent the king "Addresses of Loyalty," and were outspoken in their disapproval of his opponents. Afterward the loyalists were cruelly treated by their patriot neighbors. If they stayed in the country they were distrusted and abused; if they left, as many of them did, it was quite the fashion to confiscate their property for carrying on the war. In some of the southern communities, the loyalists were in the majority and conditions were reversed. Then it was the patriots who were driven out to live in the forests. Here they formed fearless bands

of backwoodsmen, who, under such leaders as Marion,[1] Sevier, and Pickens, fought bravely through the Revolution.

Congress Prepared to Conduct a War. When the Second Continental Congress met in May, 1775, a crisis in colonial affairs was upon them. It was true that the delegates had been chosen to meet and consider the king's answer to their petition. It was true that they had back of them no legally constituted government and no authority to do the things that must be done. But the battle of Lexington and Concord had been fought, and an army of 18,000 men was besieging Boston. Words and theories counted for little in such a case. War was a fact. Congress accepted the responsibilities. It adopted the army around Boston as a continental army, provided a leader, issued requisitions[2] on the various colonies for supplies and money for its upkeep, sent agents abroad to try to establish relations with foreign countries, and settled down to the grim reality of the struggle.

Leading Americans Opposed Independence. In the early days of the Revolution it was not a war for independence. "Mother England" was still a sacred name in the colonies. She was like a parent who had allowed her children to do as they willed for years, and then had suddenly tried to enforce obedience. Washington afterward said, "When I first took command of the Continental army I abhorred the idea of independence." There were a few men, like John Adams, who were already dreaming of a great free nation, but these men waited patiently without trying

[1] See Whittier's *Song of Marion's Men:*

Our band is few, but tried and true,
Our leader firm and bold.
The British soldier trembles
When Marion's name is told.

Our fortress is the good green wood,
Our tent the cypress tree.
We know the forest round us
As seamen know the sea.

[2] These were the sums of money, or the amounts of supplies which Congress apportioned to each colony as its necessary contribution to the carrying on of the government during the war. Since Congress could only ask, and not collect, the requisitions were often evaded.

to force matters. As Adams wrote, "America is a great unwieldy body. Its progress must be slow. It is like a large ship sailing under a convoy. The fleetest sailors must wait for the dullest and slowest."

Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." One of the greatest forces which hurried these slow sailors was the pen of Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had been in the colonies only a little while. He saw very clearly that the king was not the government and had no *divine right* to rule. In a thrilling pamphlet called "Common Sense" he said what he thought so plainly [1] that people who had feared to entertain such traitorous ideas in their most secret thoughts soon commenced to voice them openly.

Respect for the King Decreased. When the officers of the king burned Charlestown, during the battle of Bunker Hill, and later burned Falmouth in Maine, anger against His Sovereign Majesty, George III, waxed hotter, and respect grew less and less. But it was the king's own action that was to make the breach between his subjects and himself too wide to be bridged, and so to make independence inevitable.

The English Situation with Regard to an Army. England had in the colonies an army of about 18,000 men, fully two-thirds of whom were penned up in Boston. When Parliament realized that she had not only a rebellious Massachusetts to deal with, but a rebellious America, from New England to Georgia, provision was made for an additional 55,000 soldiers. It was found impossible to recruit such a large army in England, not only because patriotism was at a very low ebb in Great Britain, but also because Englishmen would not volunteer to fight their Colonial brothers.[2]

Mercenary Soldiers Hired. So King George III, following a plan which was not unusual in those days, hired some 30,000 mercenary soldiers from various German princes. More than

[1] For example: "The heathen introduced government by kings, which the will of the Almighty expressly disapproved."

"Of more worth is one honest man to society, than all the crowned ruffians of Europe."

[2] William Pitt withdrew his eldest son from the service for fear he would be forced to fight against the American cause.

half of these troops came from Hesse-Cassel; and the general term Hessians was therefore applied to all of them. Their ruler, or landgrave, was to receive over half a million dollars a year for their services, with an additional sum for each one killed or wounded. These soldiers, hired out to kill and be killed by the rulers who should have protected them, were snatched from their homes, crowded like cattle into the holds of ships, and sent to a land which they were taught to believe was filled with ferocious savages. This plan for hiring soldiers was denounced everywhere in England, and fiery speeches were made in Parliament. In America, it proved the last straw. No love or reverence could continue to exist for a king who hired foreign mercenaries to slaughter his own people. Few of the patriots in America had sought separation; it was the king, and the king alone, who had forced it on the colonies.

INDEPENDENCE HALL

(The Old Quaker State House)

Originally the Pennsylvaina State House, built on grounds set apart by William Penn for public buildings. It was the meeting place of the Second Continental Congress, and of Congress under the Constitution as long as Philadelphia served as the federal capital.

Colonial Legislatures Moved Toward Independence. The first actual steps toward independence were taken in the legislatures of the various colonies. One after another they instructed their representatives to vote for independence. In June, 1776, more than a year after the Second Continental Congress first met, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, acting on instructions from the legislature of that state, offered the resolution which has since become so famous: " Resolved: That these United Colonies are and of a right ought to be free and independent states, that

they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved."

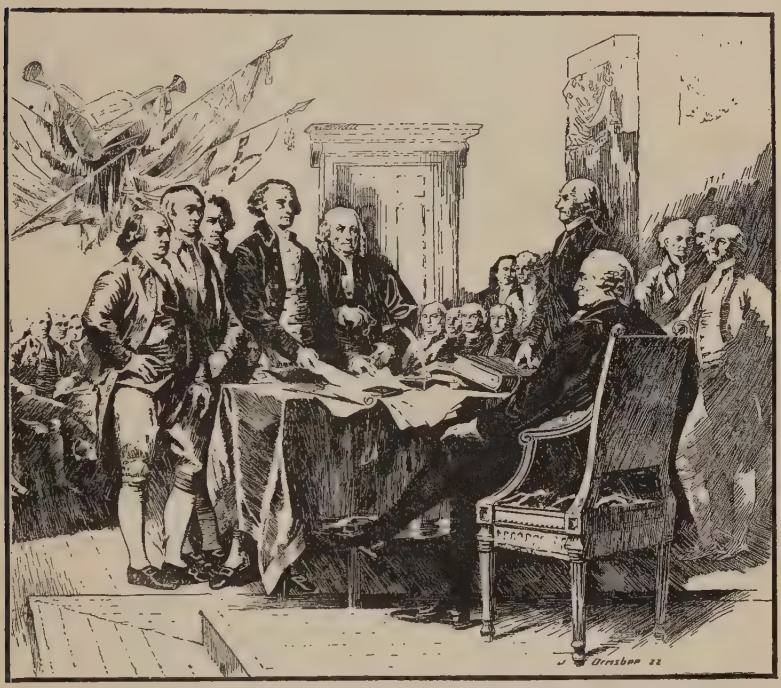
Steps Toward Independence in Congress. A committee of five was appointed to draft a formal declaration based on this resolution, and while the debate on the resolution itself went on, these members worked on the draft. They delegated the actual writing to Thomas Jefferson, a young Virginian who had proved himself a skillful and daring writer and a fearless patriot. Franklin made a few changes in Jefferson's draft, and the other members of the committee, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, gave it their approval. It was presented to Congress and adopted, July 4, 1776. On the same day John Hancock, the presiding officer, added his bold signature, thus making it the official act of the Colonial representatives. The great bell [1] of the old Quaker State House rang out to an anxious world the prophetic message engraved upon its side, "Proclaim liberty to all the People."

This famous bell hung in the belfry of the Philadelphia State House, and because it rang out the news of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, it has been a special object of reverence to patriots ever since. For a long time it was rung on every occasion of patriotic importance, but in 1835 it became cracked while tolling the death of Chief Justice Marshall.

The Writing of the "Declaration." Thomas Jefferson was to serve his country in many remarkable ways in the long life that stretched before him, but his association with this great document was to be the most illustrious honor of all. He did not utter any particularly new thought in wording it, but he did express the feeling that was inspiring the Revolutionary patriots, and making

[1] This bell was first cast in England in 1752, and brought to America the next year, where it was recast and the text quoted inscribed on its side.

them willing to do and dare for the realization of the great ideal of human liberty which today we call democracy. "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.*



Copy of the famous painting in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington

THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The "Declaration" Made Clear the Colonial Objective. The signing of the Declaration of Independence was hailed with joy by all the patriots. It made clear the issue to be decided. It made foreign treaties possible. The great nations of Europe which could never enter into negotiations with rebellious colonies of a sister nation could honorably establish relationships with a new government. It made definite the position of the loyalists. They were now enemies of the new nation and could be dealt with as such. Most important of all it made clear to every patriot the goal to be attained.

Steps Toward a Permanent Union. The Declaration of Independence broke off all relations with England, but did not substitute any form of government in the place of the old one. A Grand Committee, consisting of one member from each colony, was immediately appointed in the Congress to draw up "Articles of Union;" but it was five years before the Articles of Confederation which this committee presented received the approval of all the colonies. In that long interval the Continental Congress went on with the business of managing continental affairs and conducting the war, not because it had any particular authority to do so, but because there was no other governmental body with power to act for the whole country.

Services of the Men of the Second Continental Congress. With no real executive power, with only such uncertain backing as the different states chose to give, with money scarce and credit difficult, with little respect either at home or abroad, amid bickerings and jealousies, this devoted band of men, human in their failings and weaknesses, but more than human in their determined patriotism, pushed to a successful conclusion the war which won our independence. They deserve a very generous share of the laurels a grateful people assign to the Heroes of the Revolution.

Review Monday

CHAPTER XIII

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

I. The Contestants (Topics "I" and "II" are review)

A. OBJECTIVES

1. Colonial — The right to an unrestricted growth. (*a*) Stamp Act Congress. (*b*) First Continental Congress. (*c*) Second Continental Congress. (*d*) Declaration of Independence.
2. British — Colonial development for the good of the Mother Country. (*a*) The "New Colonial Policy." (*b*) Coercive measures.

B. COMPARATIVE STRENGTH

C. COMPARATIVE WEAKNESSES

II. Preliminary Campaigns *Fite, pp. 128–130*

A. LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

B. SIEGE OF BOSTON — (through Bunker Hill)

C. TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT

III. Washington in Command *Poems, p. 185* *Hart, p. 149*

A. PROBLEMS

1. Organizing the army.
2. Desire to win Canada to the Cause.

B. SEIZING OF DORCHESTER HEIGHTS

1. Evacuation of Boston.

C. BATTLE OF NEW YORK

D. RETREAT ACROSS NEW JERSEY

1. Washington's problems.
2. Work of Paine.
3. Work of Morris.

E. TRENTON AND PRINCETON

IV. The Threefold Campaign *Poems, pp. 195, 199, 200*

A. PLAN AND OBJECT

B. THE WORKING

1. Howe's part. (*a*) Capture of Philadelphia. (*b*) Brandywine and Germantown.
2. St. Leger's part. (*a*) Oriskany. (*b*) The collapse of the expedition.
3. Burgoyne's part. (*a*) Ticonderoga and Crown Point. (*b*) Bennington. (*c*) Saratoga.

C. Results
1. Patriot hope strengthened.
2. British offer terms. (*a*) Valley Forge.
3. Help from the French.

V. The War on the Sea *Southworth, pp. 84–92*
Poems, p. 225
A. Comparison of strength
B. Work of the privateers
C. John Paul Jones

VI. The Winning of the West *Fite, pp. 153, 154*
A. Clark's expedition
B. Effect on boundary

VII. The Campaign in the South *Hart, p. 151*
Van Loon, pp. 314–325
A. Conquest of Georgia
B. Campaign in South Carolina
1. Camden.
2. King's Mountain.
3. Cowpens.
C. The tables turned
1. Guilford Courthouse.
2. Greene's campaign in the interior.
D. The conflict in Virginia
1. With Lafayette.
2. Yorktown.

VIII. The Treaty of Peace

Problems

TOPIC

III. Suppose as a member of General Howe's staff in 1776 you are advocating an attack on New York. What geographical arguments can you advance to favor your position?

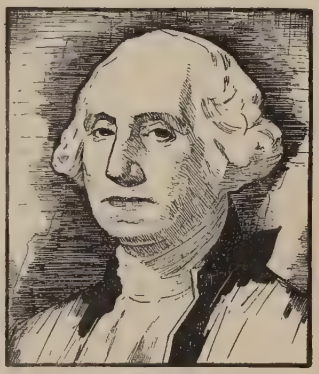
IV. Is any of the credit for the victory at Saratoga due to Washington?

VIII. A Canadian historian recently wrote, "It may be said with some truth that George Washington was instrumental in the salvation of England." What did he mean?

The Contestants Compared. To stop growing is to start decaying. For more than a century the American colonies had been developing steadily in population and resources, and in their ideas of democracy and self-government. The new colonial policy adopted by the British after 1763 would have checked that growth. Naturally the colonists opposed the new policy. The Stamp Act Congress, the Committees of Correspondence, the

First and Second Continental Congresses, and finally the Declaration of Independence were the successive forms of American insistence on the right to grow.

A struggle for independence was not to be undertaken lightly. England was the most powerful nation in the world. Her empire stretched from India on the east to America on the west. Her ships ruled the seas. In spite of party division at home, George III had so corrupted Parliament that his will was law, and apparently the whole force of the realm could be directed toward crushing the rebellious colonists.



GEORGE WASHINGTON
1732–1799

Opposed to this great power were three million Americans, of whom a large number remained loyal to the British government to the last. A coast line so long that it could not be defended, a population so scattered that it could never be rallied at any one point, a spirit of jealousy and suspicion among the several colonies, were all weak points in their defense. Yet in these weaknesses lay their strength. If the coast line was too long and the population too scattered for adequate defense, it was just as much a problem for attack. A British victory in one locality would help them very little elsewhere. The greatest American asset was her commander-in-chief. She had a Washington.

The Military Situation. On that July day when General George Washington took command of his " army " at Cambridge, the battle of Lexington and Concord and that of Bunker Hill had already been written into history. Ethan Allen and his " Green Mountain " boys had surprised and captured an English garrison at Ticonderoga; and Crown Point had also fallen into American hands.

Washington's Problems. The problems which the new commander faced were tremendous. The army around Boston, as

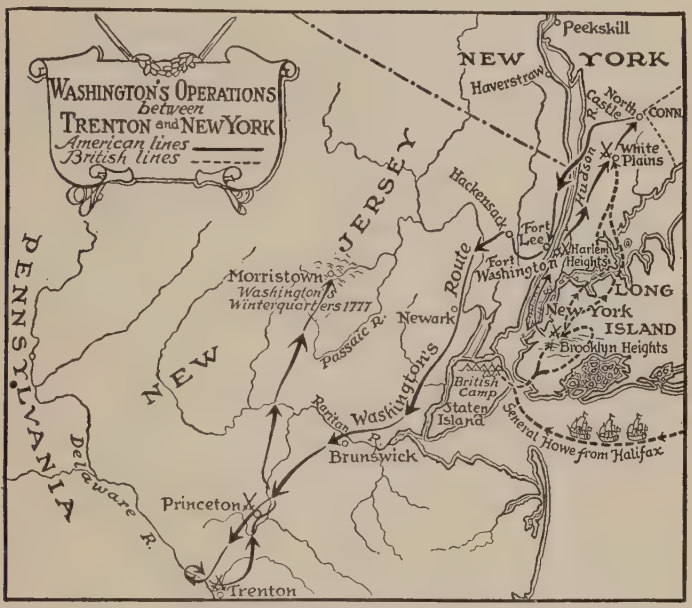
Washington himself said, was "a mixed multitude," without uniforms, without discipline, and with only a few good officers. His first task was to create an army out of the materials at hand. In addition to this he must decide the strategy of the war. Washington believed that the side which held Canada would win. Plans were therefore made for the conquest of that country, a feat which most Americans thought would be easy because they supposed the Canadians were in sympathy with the American cause. Two expeditions were sent out, one under Montgomery and another under Benedict Arnold. The Canadians proved to be stubbornly loyal to England, and the effort to conquer Canada was an utter failure. The remnants of the expedition were brought back by Arnold, whose bravery, patriotism, and skill won for him an admiration that later was to be turned to bitterest hate.

Capture of Boston. Meanwhile, his army unpaid and undisciplined, without sufficient guns or ammunition, Washington continued the siege of Boston. In March, 1776, while the winter snows were still on the ground, patriots harnessed themselves to sleds and dragged the cannon from Ticonderoga. With these, and with ammunition captured from a British ship, they fortified Dorchester Heights, a hill overlooking Boston. When the British soldiers awoke one morning and found the town at the mercy of American cannon, they hastily boarded British ships in the harbor and sailed away to Halifax. Washington and his army occupied Boston; it was his first great triumph.

Battle of Long Island. From Boston, Washington moved his troops to New York, seeming to know that there would be the next point of attack.[1] He fortified himself on a corner of Long Island, but when the British came, he was outnumbered and defeated in open battle, saving his army by the ruse of leaving his campfires burning while the troops stole away in the night. Washington retreated up the east bank of the Hudson, whose opposite shores were guarded by two forts, Washington and Lee.

[1] It was clear to him that if the British should take the city of New York they might then gain control of the whole line of the Hudson river and Lake Champlain and cut off New England from the other colonies.

The first fell before a British attack, and Washington, feeling the hopelessness of retaining the other, ordered it to be abandoned. Then crossing the Hudson, he began a heart-breaking retreat across New Jersey, with the British, led by Cornwallis, at his heels.



After his defeat at Brooklyn Heights, Washington moved north to White Plains. Pursued by the British, he crossed the Hudson, retreated across New Jersey and over the Delaware river into Pennsylvania. Then suddenly he turned, defeated British forces at Trenton and at Princeton, and then by taking up winter quarters in the hill country near Morristown, forced the British to retreat toward New York.

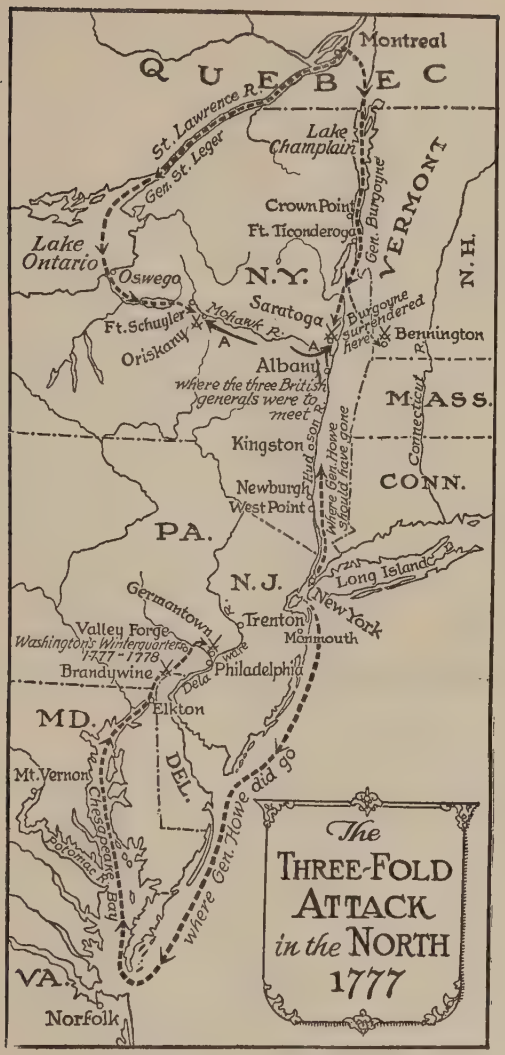
"Dark Days" of the Revolution. Those were dark days for the patriot cause. The army was unpaid, ill-fed, poorly equipped. The short term enlistments were expiring daily and many of the soldiers were refusing to reenlist. The fire of patriotism burned low, although there were occasional flashes of heroic devotion like that reflected in the last words of Nathan Hale, "I regret

that I have but one life to give my country." Steadfastly the dauntless Washington kept his faith. He pledged his private fortune toward the payment of the soldiers. In Philadelphia, Robert Morris, wealthy Quaker banker, went from house to house to sell the bonds which had been authorized by the Continental Congress, and by investing his own fortune induced other people of means to pledge their support. He was finally able to send Washington enough money to save the situation for the time being. Once more Thomas Paine's pen was brought to serve the patriot cause. A fiery pamphlet called on those who were not " summer soldiers " to follow the path they had marked out for themselves.

The Dawn of Hope. It was Washington's skill and daring that brought the dawn to the dark night. The British under Cornwallis had pursued him to the Delaware and would have crossed if Washington had not taken pains to see that all the boats were on the wrong shore. Then on Christmas eve, 1776, Washington and his men recrossed the Delaware, full of floating ice, and carried out a surprise attack on the British outpost at Trenton, New Jersey, where the Hessians were celebrating the holiday. He succeeded in capturing almost 1000 prisoners with a large quantity of much needed supplies. The American loss was two privates frozen to death during the night march, and two officers and a private wounded. The victory sent a wave of joy through the colonies.

Then followed a maneuver which military critics regard as one of the most surprising and brilliant in the history of war. Instead of retreating across the Delaware, Washington advanced to Princeton where he defeated a part of Cornwallis's army and cut off his line of communication with New York. Then before the British could recover from their surprise, the Americans moved northward and began entrenching themselves among the hills about Morristown. Cornwallis was forced to abandon most of New Jersey and retreat toward New York.

The Threefold Campaign for the Hudson. After a great deal of discussion, the British were ready, in the spring of 1777, with a plan of campaign which they believed would bring the war to



CAMPAIGN OF 1777

If the British had successfully carried out their plan to unite their three lines of attack at Albany, New England would have been cut off from the rest of the country.

a speedy conclusion. This plan was based on a belief that the separation of the New England colonies from the rest of the group would make the rebellion an easy thing to crush. To effect this division there were to be three distinct movements: (1) Sir William Howe, commander of New York, was to move up the Hudson river as far as Albany; (2) General St. Leger, with a mixed army of British regulars, Tory volunteers, and Indian allies, was to move from Lake Ontario down the valley of the Mohawk to Albany, dispersing any patriot force which might interfere; (3) General Burgoyne with a British force was to advance from Canada, moving down through northern New York by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, to Albany.

The union of these three lines would so effectively divide the colonies that the crushing of the separate parts would be a simple matter.

General Howe's Part of the Plan. In the absence of direct orders from England, General Howe determined to capture Philadelphia first, in order to be master of the Revolutionary capital. He believed that he could do this and get back to New York in time to cooperate with Burgoyne. He utilized the British transports, and had his men moved by sea to the head of the Chesapeake bay so that he might approach Philadelphia from the south, hoping by this maneuver to avoid a battle with the patriot army still in New Jersey.

Washington's Tactics for Delay. When Washington learned that the British were actually moving to the attack of Philadelphia, he felt relieved. "Now let all New England turn out and defeat Burgoyne," he wrote, and set himself to the task of delaying Howe so that the latter would be unable to send help to Burgoyne. Two battles were fought, one at Brandywine and one at Germantown, in both of which the Americans were defeated. Philadelphia was occupied by the British. Although it was the seat of government and its loss was keenly felt by the patriots, nevertheless its capture was of no advantage to the British because Howe had used up so much time in taking it that he was no longer able to cooperate in the campaign for the control of the Hudson.

Failure of St. Leger. St. Leger, according to the threefold plan, took up his march across New York. He had advanced

about half-way from Oswego to Albany, when he was defeated by General Herkimer at Oriskany and beat a hasty retreat.

Burgoyne's Expedition. Meantime, Burgoyne had started out very bravely with a force of about 8000 men. British boats carried his army to the southern end of Lake Champlain, and he captured Crown Point and Ticonderoga without serious difficulty.

FRANKLIN AT THE FRENCH COURT

Franklin concealed his keen and clever mind by such a simplicity of manner that the French were delighted with him. He became a social favorite, and used his position for the advancement of his country's aims.

His chief problem was to get supplies. As soon as he began his march overland to the Hudson, he found himself almost helpless. Great wagon trains were necessary to carry food and ammunition for so large a force, and these proved Burgoyne's undoing. Although at first too small to risk an open battle, the patriot army harassed and hindered the British advance by destroying bridges, felling trees across the rude roadways, and capturing stragglers. At times Burgoyne was able to advance only two miles a day.

General Schuyler was in command of the American army which opposed Burgoyne. His army was growing daily by reenforcements and by voluntary enlistments of backwoodsmen, whose patriotism was fanned to white heat by the presence of the enemy in their midst.

The Victory of Saratoga. The news that a large quantity of supplies had been collected at Bennington induced Burgoyne to send a force of 600 men to capture them. This band was met by a division of New England farmers under Colonel Stark, defeated and almost destroyed. Burgoyne's position now became dangerous. He was opposed by a constantly growing force, already larger than his own. His supplies were low, and there was no prospect of replenishment. He sent word to General Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in command at New York, that he could not hold out longer than October 12, unless reenforcements were received. Burgoyne put his men on half rations, and then in desperation made a slight advance southward toward Saratoga. Here Arnold [1] fell on him furiously, and although not actually in command, conducted the fighting so impetuously that the British were forced to surrender, on October 17, 1777.[2]

The Turning Point of the Revolution. The battle of Saratoga was the turning point of the war. Never again did the patriots fear for the final success of their undertaking. No finer troops could be sent against them than those who had just laid down their arms at Saratoga; no better scheme of conquest could ever be devised than that which had just collapsed.

[1] It seems a pity to be obliged to record that Benedict Arnold, the hero of Saratoga and of the Canadian invasion, three years later became a despised traitor. Congress had never granted him the military recognition which his successes merited. Embittered by this seeming lack of appreciation, he plotted with the British for the surrender of West Point, the key to the whole Hudson river defense, the command of which had been entrusted to him by Washington. His treachery was discovered in time to save the fortress, but Arnold succeeded in escaping to the British lines. There he was protected as a matter of duty, but he dragged out a miserable existence, despised by his new allies as much as he was hated by his former friends.

[2] General Gates was in nominal command of the American army at Saratoga, having displaced Schuyler before the surrender of Burgoyne. Gates, who remained in the rear, claimed all the glory for the victory, although the credit was actually due to the generals on the field.

England herself felt it. Reconciliation was proposed. The Massachusetts acts were repealed. Everything the colonists might ask, everything short of independence, was offered. But the demand for independence had become so great that the "olive branch" was refused.

Valley Forge. Notwithstanding the brilliant victory at Saratoga, the winter of 1777–78 was a trying one. Newport, New York, and Philadelphia were held by the British, and supplies came to them steadily over the sea. At the same time, Washington's army was living miserably in a camp village of log huts at Valley Forge.[1] Food, blankets, and shoes were scarce; and the snow along the line of march was often stained with blood from the soldiers' feet. The trouble was not only lack of supplies, but lack of money and credit. Dismal as the winter was, however, it proved to be the dark hour before the dawn.

The French Treaties of Amity and Commerce. By spring the most important result of the battle of Saratoga became evident. The French were ready to give open aid to the American cause. They had given secret help and sympathy before,[2] and such brave patriots as the young Marquis de Lafayette had served in the American army. But in March of 1778 treaties of "amity and commerce" were concluded which provided that: (1) the French should recognize American independence; (2) France should aid America with money, men and ships; (3) if a French-British war resulted from French championship of American affairs, neither France nor America should make peace with England without the other's consent; (4) America should guarantee to France her possessions in the new world "forever."

Much has been said in recent years about the underlying reasons for French aid. French hatred of England, and desire for special trade privileges, were probably factors. But the

[1] Baron von Steuben, a Prussian officer, joined the American army at Valley Forge. Washington entrusted him with the task of drilling the army, and the "continental line" which he developed was considered one of the best drilled military organizations of the time.

[2] Spain also gave secret help to the colonies in the early days of the war although she did not formally recognize their independence. Later when a French-British war resulted because the French aided the Americans, Spain too declared war against Great Britain.

emotion that stirred the hearts of the great mass of French people, whose finest example was Lafayette, was neither hatred nor greed.

The French had been dreaming of a government under which all men would be equal. They were living under one of the most autocratic governments in Europe, and there were great masses of poor people who paid enormous taxes that a small rich class

WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE

The British, comfortably housed in Philadelphia, had posters placed on the trees around the American encampment offering food, shelter, and employment to patriots who would desert. Such an offer might have been expected to appeal to the suffering soldiers but Washington's men, almost without exception, stood the test.

might live in unusual luxury. But many of them, rich and poor alike, were talking about a wonderful ideal they called the "brotherhood of man." They believed that the Americans were fighting for that ideal and were willing to help them. The French were right in their belief, although on this side of the Atlantic that ideal came to have another name. It is called Democracy.

The Beginnings of the American Navy. Early in the war Congress had fostered efforts to provide a navy, but little progress had been made; although Yankee "privateers," merchant vessels licensed to prey on the enemy's commerce, were so successful that British merchant trade was almost driven from the sea.

Perhaps the best known of all those Americans whose bold seamanship made them famous is John Paul Jones, who offered his services at the outbreak of the war. He carried the struggle on the sea to the very doorstep of England and won battles and captured prizes in her own ports. His most famous exploit was the victory of the Bon Homme Richard, as Jones called his ship, over the larger British Serapis. Running his ship afoul of the Serapis and lashing the two vessels together, Jones forced the British to surrender, but not until both ships, shattered, blood-soaked, and on fire, were actually sinking. He succeeded in saving the captured Serapis, and continued his daring attacks on British trade.

John Paul Jones, a daring sea fighter, fitted out five vessels in France and flying the new flag, the Stars and Stripes, from his masthead successfully attacked the British frigates in their own waters.

The Expedition for the Conquest of the West. While the war on the sea was being carried on in such a daring fashion, another group of patriots was engaged in an enterprise of far-reaching importance. George Rogers Clark, under a special permission given him by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, enlisted vol-

unteers for an expedition to the great region lying between the Appalachian highland and the Mississippi, and drained by the Ohio. Virginia claimed this region as part of her original territory under her charter. She had granted a large section of it to "The Ohio Company" (see page 137), a real estate organization on a tremendous scale.

THE EXPEDITION OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

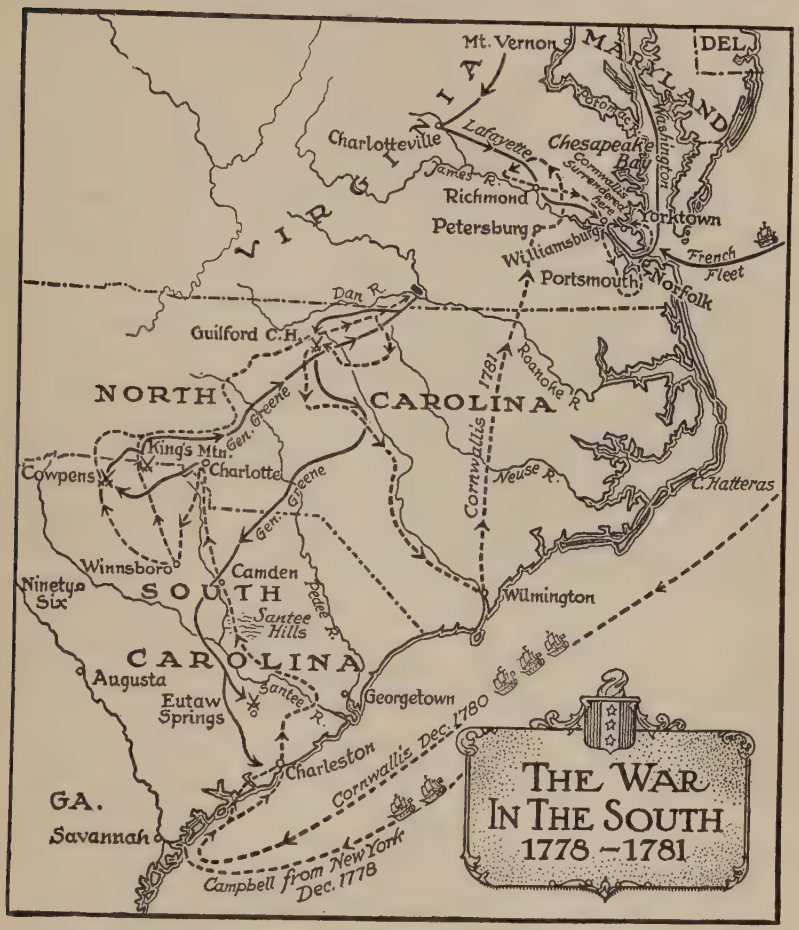
Clark and his brave followers found the swamps, swollen streams, and bitter weather even worse enemies than the English and their Indian allies, in the *Winning of the West.*

In the winter of 1778–79, Clark with a handful of followers seized Kaskaskia and Vincennes, where the British, protected as they thought by the ice-bound forest trails, were not expecting attack. The men who followed Clark endured incredible hardships, but later on, the fact that Americans actually occupied these western

Clark's expedition into the Northwest territory, which the British had annexed to Quebec, paved the way for the American claim to the Mississippi river as a western boundary after the Revolutionary War.

outposts made reasonable the American claim to the Mississippi as the western boundary of the new country that was to be.

The War in the South. With the failure of Burgoyne and the coming of French aid, the British plan of campaign was changed.



Cornwallis seemed to be successful in winning the Carolinas until his forces were defeated at King's Mountain and Guilford Court House. Then he moved into Virginia, and was surrounded at Yorktown by Lafayette, Washington, and the French forces.

For fear of the French fleet the British evacuated Philadelphia in June, 1778, and concentrated their forces near New York.

The center of military operations was transferred to the south. Here the loyalist sentiment was strong, and the British felt sure of victory.

In 1778 Savannah was captured and made the headquarters for the control of Georgia. The British then advanced on Charleston, which they took.[1] Soon after, Camden, the most important interior town in South Carolina, fell into the hands of Cornwallis, the British commander. The first check to British advance in the South came at King's Mountain, where a picked division under Ferguson was defeated and captured by a band of frontiersmen under John Sevier. These backwoods patriots, whom the British scorned for their utter lack of everything the king's soldiers considered necessary in an army, killed or captured the entire opposing force. Cornwallis sent more troops to the northwestern part of the state, but these were likewise defeated at Cowpens by General Nathanael Greene who had now taken command of the patriot forces in the south. Greene then began a masterly retreat across North Carolina, drawing the British farther and farther from their base of supplies. After an engagement at Guilford Court House, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington, while Greene whirled his army about and drove the British out of the interior of South Carolina and Georgia. The end of the southern campaign, then, found the British in possession of

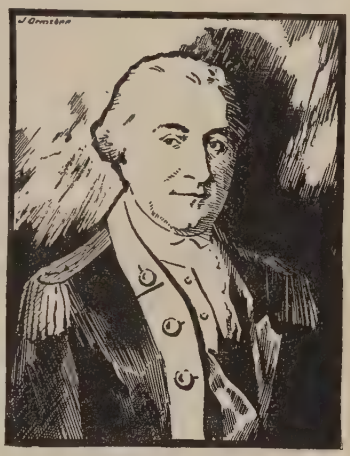
LAFAYETTE

Soldiers of Fortune from many lands offered their services to the patriot cause. One of the most distinguished was Lafayette, an ardent and patriotic young Frenchman, who served as an aide to Washington.

[1] An earlier attack on Charleston in 1776 had failed. The story of the defense of Fort Moultrie, a log fort which guarded the Charleston harbor, by a party of patriots under Sergeant Jasper, is an interesting one.

nothing except the seaport towns of Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington.

Yorktown. From this latter town, Cornwallis decided to move his army into Virginia, defended only by a small force under " that boy " Lafayette. The young French patriot was too shrewd to risk an open engagement with a superior army. Cornwallis marched up and down the country destroying millions of dollars' worth of property, but was never able to come to a decisive battle. Finally he settled down on the Yorktown peninsula, to await the coming of an English fleet. While he waited, Lafayette, Rochambeau, commander of the French forces, and Washington, who had succeeded in making Clinton think he was about to attack New York, came and sat down and waited too. Other detachments of the patriot army joined the semicircle, and Cornwallis watched the far horizon with increasing apprehension for the white-winged sails that alone could bring release. One day ships did appear but they were sailing under the flag of France, the American ally. The French fleet far outclassed the English fleet sent to Cornwallis's relief, and the waiting army of besiegers far outnumbered the British. There was nothing for Cornwallis to do but surrender, which he did on October 19, 1781. The war was over.



BARON DE KALB

Baron de Kalb, a Bavarian who had served in the French army, came to America with Lafayette, and after a splendid record of service, lost his life at the battle of Camden.

The Treaty of Peace. Although the fighting stopped in the autumn of 1781, it was almost two years before the Treaty of Peace was actually signed. One article of the treaty with France (1778) provided that America would not make peace with England until France consented. The peace negotiations dragged

on and on. At last, impatient of delay, the leading American peace commissioners, John Jay, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin, agreed to separate secret meetings with English representatives. They arrived at an agreement which was satisfactory to the Americans. Then and not until then Franklin broke the news to the French, and did it so cleverly that the

PULASKI

Pulaski was a Polish patriot, who himself raised the troops in America that won renown as *Pulaski's Legions*. He was mortally wounded at Savannah.

BARON VON STEUBEN

Baron von Steuben, a skillful Prussian drillmaster, deserved the greatest credit for the organizing and disciplining of the raw American troops.

French minister soon forgave the Americans for their broken faith. This treaty (1) recognized American Independence; (2) established a boundary that included practically all of what is now the United States *east* of the Mississippi, except Florida; (3) promised that Congress would recommend to the various states that all properties confiscated from British loyalists during the war should be restored.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THIRTEEN CONFEDERATED STATES

I. Establishing State Governments

- A. The problem of government
- B. Local government in the Colonial period
- C. Provisions of new state constitutions
  1. Bill of Rights.
  2. Legislatures.
  3. Governor.
  4. Courts.

II. Shall the States Form a Union?

- A. Forces of disunion
  1. Geographical — lack of communication.
  2. Historical and industrial differences.
  3. Fierce spirit of liberty.
- B. Forces of union
  1. Isolation from Europe.
  2. Common dangers and problems.
  3. Homogeneity of the people.
- C. Early steps toward union
  1. New England Confederation.
  2. Albany Plan of Union.
  3. Stamp Act Congress.
  4. First Continental Congress.
  5. Second Continental Congress.
- D. Government during the Revolution

III. Formation of the Confederation

- A. Committee appointed
- B. Difficulties in the way of the committee
  1. State jealousies.
- C. The Articles of Confederation
  1. A firm league of friendship.
  2. Congress the governing body.
- D. How the Articles were adopted
  1. Unanimous consent of the states.
  2. Maryland and the western land claims.

IV. Beginnings of the National Domain *Hart, p. 169*

A. Early settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee
B. The Northwest Territory
C. The Land Survey Law
D. Ordinance of 1787
   1. Passed by Confederation Congress.
   2. Chief provisions.
E. The National Domain a bond of union

V. Weakness of the Confederation Leads to Confusion

A. Congress had no power to levy taxes *Southworth, pp. 101–103*
B. Congress had no power to control issuance of paper money *Hart, p. 164*
C. Congress had no power to enforce treaties
D. Congress had no power to regulate commerce *Poems, p. 269*
E. Congress had no power to preserve order

Problems

TOPIC

I. Why did almost all the first constitutions provide for a legislature with two houses?

II. Why did the Americans of the Revolutionary period fear the power of a central government more than that of a state government?

III. Suppose that Virginia had kept all the land that she claimed, how much of the United States would now belong to her? What difference would that have made in our history?

V. Do we have any money today like the paper money of the Revolutionary period? Are silver certificates and bank notes paper money?

Exercise: Construct a diagram to show the number of colonies taking part in each of the steps toward union mentioned here, letting a one-half-inch square represent each colony.

Here ——— test) tuesday

Wanted — A Government. When the thirteen colonies broke away from England they were at once confronted with some of the most difficult problems of government. The very spirit which led men to fight for independence made them exceedingly jealous of the liberty they had gained. Yet civilization cannot exist unless men unite to perform common tasks, and that means that self-will must sometimes yield to authority. Duties are just as important as rights and liberty cannot long endure without cooperation.

The State Constitutions and Their Provisions. The individual states adopted constitutions readily enough. The measure of self-government which they had enjoyed as colonies made that step easy. Indeed Rhode Island and Connecticut did not feel it necessary to make new constitutions, but merely changed a few words in their old colonial charters and went forward much as before. The other state constitutions were all modeled on the old charters and bore a marked resemblance to each other. Most of them began with a Bill of Rights,[1] assuring the individual citizen of his liberty. In every case most of the real power was given to the legislature, which almost always consisted of two houses. These legislatures were to represent the people and act for them. The power of the governor was carefully guarded; years of quarreling with royal authority had made men fearful of "one man power." They did not realize that there was a difference between a governor appointed by the king and one chosen by the people themselves. Each state also provided for a system of courts. Curiously enough the only state constitution to grant manhood suffrage was that of Vermont, and she was not yet admitted to the sisterhood of states.[2] Other states limited the right to vote to taxpayers, or landowners, or members of a certain church. In the country as a whole, probably not one man in five had the right to vote.

These state constitutions set up the important framework of democracy. The details were left for later generations to add, and some of them are yet lacking.

The Difficulty of Forming a United Government. It had been fairly easy to get the thirteen state constitutions into working order. But when it came to providing for a central government the problem was much more difficult. For one thing the thirteen

[1] The Bill of Rights in a state constitution usually guarantees certain rights, such as freedom of speech, religious freedom, right of trial by jury, and forbids cruel or unusual punishments, excessive bail, and the like. The Virginia Bill of Rights is the oldest and one of the best.

[2] What is now the state of Vermont was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire. In 1777 the people of Vermont declared themselves an independent state, adopted a constitution, and asked to be admitted to the Union on an equality with the other thirteen states. The matter was postponed until 1791, when Vermont became the fourteenth state.

new states which fringed the Atlantic were not well acquainted with each other. Long distances and poor roads, without railroads or telegraphs, made it impossible for a Georgian to know much of New York or Massachusetts. Four days in good weather were necessary to travel from Boston to New York; south of the Potomac, conditions were worse, for roads were almost impassable and bridges were a luxury. Even the mails traveled only three times a week on the best post roads; and in some of the remotest places news was often months old. The signing of the Declaration of Independence was known in Paris as quickly as it was in some of the colonies.

In the second place, the colonists differed in many ways. The Cavaliers of Virginia and the Quakers of Pennsylvania had their own reasons for not liking the Puritans.[1] Life in the little settlements of New England was not at all like that of the tobacco and rice plantations of the South. The manufacturers and traders of the northern states and the plantation owners of the southern ones naturally had very different ideas regarding commerce and taxation.

Most important of all, the Americans of the Revolutionary period were such lovers of liberty that they were loath to grant any real power to a central government. Local governments might be all right, they thought, but the war was being fought to do away with the power of a general government across the seas. Many patriots found it hard to understand why they should render obedience to a Congress of the United States which was asking for more power and more taxes than ever King George and his ministers had dared to demand. After July 4, 1776, there was nothing but common sense to keep any state from acting as an independent nation, and some of them did so. With such an ardor for freedom inspiring the patriots of that day, the real question was whether local liberty could somehow be reconciled with central authority and real unity.

[1] The ancestors of the Cavaliers and the Puritans had fought on opposite sides of the Civil War in England in the seventeenth century. In the early history of Massachusetts, Quakers had been cruelly persecuted because of their religion.

Forces Which Tended Toward Union. On the other hand, powerful forces were at work to bring the states together. The three thousand miles of ocean which lay between them and Europe made them more dependent on each other. The common dangers through which they had passed and which loomed before them still forced them to rely upon their united efforts for winning the common cause. And as the men from Massachusetts and Virginia, from New York and Georgia, fought the battles of the Revolutionary War together, they came to realize that they were much alike in language, in customs, and in thought.

Early Steps Toward Union. Even before the war, important steps toward union had been taken. Four of the New England colonies had united into the New England Confederation (see page 84) to meet the common danger from Indian attacks and from Dutch and French colonial neighbors. Later when the danger from the French seemed greatest, seven of the colonies sent delegates to the Albany Congress (see page 138), where Benjamin Franklin first proposed a continental plan of union. When the English parliament passed laws which seemed to trespass upon their rights, representatives of nine colonies met in the Stamp Act Congress (see page 149) and united in a formal protest against the proposed plan of taxation.

As repeated occasions for resentment at British rule in the colonies occurred, Committees of Correspondence were established which served to keep the various colonies acquainted with what was happening elsewhere. When the British soldiers began the enforcement of the measures adopted to punish Massachusetts, in 1774, all the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to the First Continental Congress which united in a declaration of rights, in plans to enforce the non-importation agreement, and in providing for a Second Continental Congress.

Government by the Second Continental Congress. With the actual outbreak of the war and the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress was forced to act for the states as a whole. This Congress had no power in the states, but because of the common task in which all patriots were engaged, it did succeed in securing a considerable measure

of cooperation. It had no power to draft men for the army: it could only ask them to enlist, and offer them bounties for doing so. It could not levy any tax: it could only make requisitions on the states for contributions. But it did appoint Washington commander-in-chief of the army, made a treaty of alliance with France, borrowed large sums of money, and carried on a successful war.

The Articles of Confederation Committee and Its Problems. The delegates to the Second Continental Congress realized that they had no power to govern the country; and, at the same time that they were considering the Declaration of Independence, appointed a committee to draw up Articles of Confederation among the several states. The committee found its most serious difficulty in the sensitiveness of the individual states. The small states feared the large ones; to meet their fear the committee decided that in the Congress of the Confederation each state should have one vote.

A second difficulty was finally settled by providing that the Congress should make requisitions upon the states in proportion to the value of the land in each state. The western land claims of certain states presented a third difficulty. The committee did not find a solution; and the problem of these claims became the chief stumblingblock when the Articles were submitted to the states for their approval.

Provisions of the Articles of Confederation. The Articles of Confederation as finally drafted by the committee were approved by the Second Continental Congress in 1777. They provided for a firm league of friendship among the thirteen states, each of which was to keep its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence." Such power as the central government possessed was to be exercised by a Congress made up of delegates from the states, each of which was to send not less than two nor more than seven men and was to pay their expenses. Whatever the number of delegates, each state had but one vote. Thus Virginia with its population of over 800,000 had no more power than little Delaware with less than 60,000 inhabitants. All important laws required the affirmative vote of nine states and those not repre-

Six of the thirteen original states had western land claims definite enough to be shown on a map. New York had a very indefinite claim based on a treaty with the Iroquois Indians. The flag shown here is the original flag of the United States, first used in 1777.

sented were counted in the negative. The consent of all thirteen states was required to adopt amendments to the Articles.

The Western Land Claims. Before the Articles of Confederation themselves could go into effect, they had to receive the approval of all thirteen states. The great difficulty in the way of securing that approval lay in conflicting land claims. Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut all laid claim to the land west of the Alleghenies, basing their claims on their old colonial charters. In some cases these claims overlapped. The states which had no such land claims, especially Maryland (see page 89) hesitated to accept the Articles until some method of settling the dispute was agreed upon. The several states finally consented to cede all the lands northwest of the Ohio river to Congress, and with the acceptance of the Maryland terms,[1] the Articles of Confederation went into force in 1781.

The Newly Created National Domain. The action of Maryland in insisting on the surrender of the western land claims marks the beginning of the history of the national domain, the use and development of which forms an important chapter in the nation's history. Even before the Revolution a few pioneer families had pushed the line of American settlement over the Allegheny mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee.[2] But these early settlements were within the recognized boundary of existing states. Kentucky was soon organized as a county of Virginia. After some difficulties, North Carolina asserted and maintained her authority over the settlements in Tennessee.

[1] The terms upon which Maryland had insisted that the states should relinquish their western land claims are of the very greatest importance. They were: (1) the territory was to be under the control of the Federal government which should (*a*) sell the land to individual settlers, and (*b*) use the money thus received for paying on the Revolutionary debt: (2) when the population should become dense enough, the territory was to be organized under some form of territorial government: (3) when the population of the territory warranted doing so, it was to be admitted into the Union on an absolute equality with the older states.

[2] The Watauga settlement in northeastern Tennessee was made in 1769. Daniel Boone, a famous hunter and trapper and Indian fighter, led a band of settlers into Kentucky in 1775.

The cession of all the land northwest of the Ohio river to Congress created for the first time a national domain in which all the members of the Confederation had a common interest. One of the few worth-while things which the Congress of the Confederation succeeded in doing was to begin the task of organizing this national territory. The Northwest Territory included all the land north and west of the Ohio river, north to the Canadian border and west to the Mississippi. It was ceded to Congress by New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Out of

THE REAL CONQUEST OF THE WEST

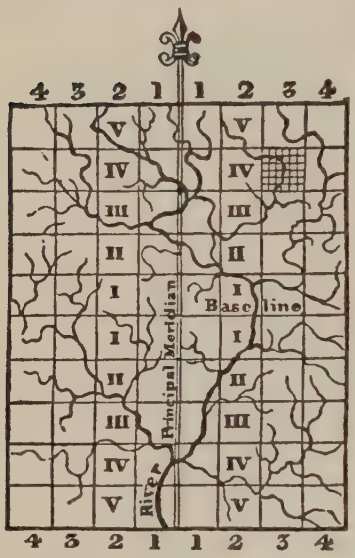
this territory the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota were afterwards made.

The Ordinance of 1784. In 1784 Congress passed an Ordinance which (1) provided for a land survey in advance of settlement; (2) established land offices for the sale of the public lands at low prices; and (3) gave one section in every thirty-six to the new states for the support of public schools.

The Ordinance of 1787. The greatest act of the Congress of the Confederation and the one for which it deserves longest to be remembered was an ordinance passed in 1787, often called the Northwest Ordinance. Men from New England had organized

the Ohio Company, and were eager to begin settlements in the new territory. An offer from this company to buy 1,500,000 acres of land for $1,000,000 undoubtedly helped to secure the passage of the Ordinance to provide for a plan of government for the Northwest Territory.

This Ordinance provided: (1) that not less than three nor more than five states should be formed out of the Northwest Territory; (2) that until the number of inhabitants in any of the proposed states reached 60,000, it should be governed as a territory; (3) that when the population reached 60,000, the state might be admitted into the Union with all the rights which any state possessed; (4) that the Indians should be fairly treated; (5) that education should be encouraged; (6) that religious liberty should be guaranteed; and (7) that slavery in the Northwest Territory should be forever prohibited.[1] The plan adopted for this Territory proved so satisfactory that in later years when other great areas became the property of the Federal government, most of the same provisions were adopted.



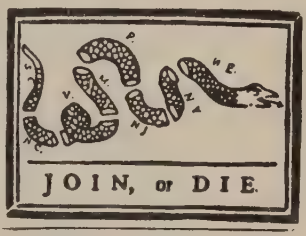
THE METHOD OF LAND SURVEY

The New Domain a Bond of Union. The national domain proved to be an important bond of union among the states. The sale of land produced large sums of money which were spent for the common good. When the time came that new states were admitted to the Union, they came in without the old prejudices and jealousies of the colonial era. In later years, this section

[1] This provision of the Ordinance of 1787 proved to be a most effective prohibition of slavery in all the Northwest Territory. Thus early in our history it was made certain that this great area should never be blighted by slavery.

was to become one of the greatest agricultural and manufacturing regions of the country. Today, nearly one fourth of our people live within the area of the old Northwest Territory.

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation. It has been said that the Articles of Confederation were the best constitution for a confederacy of states which the world had ever seen. But they did not satisfy the needs of the American people. Fatal weaknesses in the form of government soon developed. They were the same weaknesses which had been present all through the Revolutionary War, but the spirit of cooperation to win the war had partly concealed them. After 1781 they became very evident.



Franklin's device to show the necessity for union. The head represents New England, the body parts the other colonies.

In the first place, Congress had no power to levy taxes. It could only ask the states to pay their share of the common expenses. At the same time money was needed for everything: to pay the soldiers who had fought in the war, to pay the interest on the war debt, to pay other anxious and needy creditors, and to meet the ordinary expenses of government. Money came in from the states very slowly. Of the $6,000,000 requisitioned between 1783 and 1788, only one fifth was ever paid. For a time money was borrowed from Holland to pay the interest on the debt to France, but this was only heaping up a greater debt to be paid in the future. During the war, the Continental Congress had issued great quantities of paper money, so much, indeed, that it had become almost worthless, and the phrase, "not worth a Continental" became a byword. After the war, therefore, it was useless for Congress to think of trying to issue any more paper money.

At the same time Congress had no power to prevent the individual states from issuing unlimited quantities of such currency. Seven states undertook to bring prosperous times to their people by the simple process of stuffing their pockets with printed prom-

ises to pay.[1] Attempts were made to compel people to accept this paper money at face value,[2] but the only result was greater confusion.

Effect of Weakness in Treaty-Making Power. Although Congress had power to make treaties with other countries, it had no power to enforce them. This is illustrated in the treatment of the loyalists. In accordance with the terms of the treaty of peace, Congress *recommended* to the states that the loyalists be treated fairly. But the states paid no heed to Congress, and the loyalists were treated almost as badly as during the war. In some places they were ordered to leave the country and nearly 100,000 of them did so between 1783 and 1786.

Likewise, in spite of the promises in the treaty, several states passed laws making it difficult or impossible for English creditors to collect private debts from Americans. As a result of the inability of Congress to enforce treaties, it soon became impossible to get European nations to make any, although such agreements to regulate commerce were badly needed.

Interstate Commerce Hampered by State Taxes. Congress had no power to regulate commerce either with other countries or between the several states. Consequently the individual states proceeded to pass laws of their own for the regulation of trade. Each state established its own customhouses and levied its own tariff, not only on goods coming from foreign countries, but also on goods coming from other states. For example, Connecticut admitted goods from Great Britain free of duty, but laid a heavy tax on imports from Massachusetts and Rhode Island. New York laid heavy taxes on farm produce from Connecticut and New Jersey. The inevitable result of such laws was to make trade vexatious and difficult.

[1] The paper money of the Revolutionary period was simply a printed note promising to pay at some future time the amount named. The value of such a note depended entirely on the probability of its being paid in full.

[2] The merchants refused to accept the worthless paper as payment for goods; and "farmers were compelled to run from village to village to find a cobbler who would take wheat for shoes or a tailor who would give cloth for pumpkins."

Disorders in the States. Finally, Congress had no power to preserve order. When the Revolutionary soldiers encamped at Newburgh became discontented and even mutinous at the failure to receive their pay, Congress was helpless. It was only the good sense of Washington, together with his direct influence over the soldiers, that prevented open mutiny. At his earnest request, Congress offered the soldiers five years' pay in certificates. This was little enough, but the soldiers accepted it and went quietly to their homes, and this danger passed.

Other signs of disorder were apparent in many of the states. The most serious of these occurred in western Massachusetts. Here mobs took possession of court houses and prevented the sitting of the courts. Jails were broken open and riots took place. Daniel Shays became the leader of the uprising which is known as Shays' Rebellion. After six months it was put down, but not before it had become plain that such rebellions were likely to occur elsewhere at any time. Congress was unable to meet such situations. It had no army and no money to raise or maintain one. "There are combustibles in every state," wrote Washington, "which a spark might set fire to." The very danger of the situation opened men's eyes to the necessity for a stronger central government. Plainly, the Articles of Confederation would not serve the needs of the American people.

CHAPTER XV

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

I. A Better Form of Government Necessary — *File, pp. 172–177*

- A. Dissatisfaction with the Confederation
- B. Failure of efforts to amend Articles
- C. Preliminary steps toward a remedy
  1. The Mount Vernon conference.
  2. The Annapolis convention.
  3. Call issued for another convention.

II. The Constitutional Convention — *Poems, p. 270*

- A. When and where it met
- B. Leaders of the Convention
- C. Problems before the Convention
  1. Character of government to be formed.
  2. Large and small state antagonisms.
  3. Differences between the North and South.

III. The Compromises of the Convention

- A. The compromise on the form of government
  1. Plans proposed.
  2. The Connecticut Compromise.
  3. The result only partly democratic.
- B. The compromise on taxation and representation
  1. The problem.
  2. The three-fifths compromise.
- C. The compromise on regulation of commerce
  1. The slave trade and the tariff.
  2. The slave trade compromise.

IV. Ratifying the Constitution — *Hart, p. 172*

- A. The method of ratifying
- B. The struggle over ratification
  1. Arguments against.
  2. Arguments for.
- C. Final triumph
- D. The "Bill of Rights"

V. A Study of the Constitution

"The Constitution establishes the form of government of the United States."

A. The machinery
   1. The legislative department.
   2. The executive department.
   3. The judicial department.

B. Organization
   1. Of Congress. (*a*) The Senate. (1) Members. (2) Committees. (3) Officers. (*b*) The House. (1) Members. (2) Committees. (3) Officers.
   2. Of the Executive. (*a*) Of the office of President and Vice-President. (*b*) Of the Cabinet. (*c*) Of other offices at home and abroad.
   3. Of the Judiciary. (*a*) Courts. (*b*) Qualifications of judges. (*c*) Tenure of office.

C. Powers
   1. Of Congress. (*a*) General powers granted. (*b*) Powers refused. (*c*) Powers neither refused nor granted. (*d*) Implied powers. (*e*) Special powers of the Senate. (*f*) Of the House.
   2. Of the Executive. (*a*) Direct power of the President. (*b*) Indirect. (*c*) Of the Cabinet. (*d*) Diplomatic and civil officers.
   3. Of the Judiciary. (*a*) Cases which may come into the Supreme Court. (*b*) Appeals.
   4. Overlapping powers.

D. Operation
   1. The life story of a Congressional measure.
   2. The way the veto works.
   3. Growth by interpretations.

E. The Sovereign Power "We the People"
   1. Citizenship and suffrage.
   2. Direct action. (*a*) The amendment.
   3. Indirect action. (*a*) The presidential election. (*b*) The midterm election. (*c*) Popular opinion.

Problems

TOPIC

III. This compromise regarding slavery was later to lead to bitter strife and a great war. Could it have been avoided in making the constitution?

V. Could a state governor be a national senator or representative?
Why are the qualifications of President and Vice-President identical?
Under which condition would a judge be likely to give better service, with an appointment for life, or one for a short term only?
How could the direct election of the President be brought about?
Is there anything in the Constitution to prevent Congress from meeting sooner after the election?

Exercise: Make a list in your own words of the ten powers of Congress which seem to you most important.

A Stronger Central Government Necessary. By 1787 the failure of the Confederation was obvious. If the infant nation were not to be smothered in its cradle, it was necessary to provide some central authority with power to protect the lives and property of its citizens. "It is as clear to me as A, B, C," said Washington, "that an extension of federal powers would make us one of the most happy, wealthy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe. Without them we shall soon be everything which is the direct reverse. I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving on crutches and tottering at every step."

Difficulty in Amending Articles of Confederation. The Congress had proposed several amendments to the Articles of Confederation in the hope of making them workable. The Articles provided that such amendments must receive the approval of all thirteen states; and in every case one or more states refused its consent. Perhaps in the end it was just as well, for no amendment to the Articles could ever have made them equal to our present constitution.

The Annapolis Convention and Its Result. Congressional inability to regulate commerce among the several states furnished the immediate cause for action. Virginia and Maryland were both interested in the navigation of the Potomac river and a proposed canal from the Potomac to the Ohio. On the invitation of George Washington, who had been urging the construction of this canal, commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Mount Vernon, and agreed upon a plan for uniform duties and other commercial regulations as well as friendly cooperation in the use of the Potomac river. Pennsylvania and Delaware were also interested in the use of the Chesapeake bay and the Delaware river. The commissioners from Maryland suggested that these states be invited to a second conference. The idea grew and the Virginia governor sent an invitation to all of the thirteen states to send delegates.

This convention met at Annapolis, September, 1786, but only five states were represented, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York. Four other states had appointed

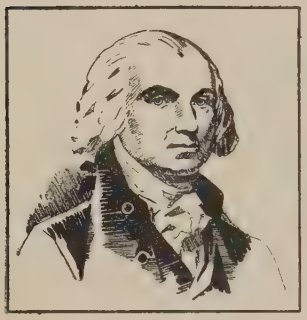
delegates, but they were not there. Little could be done by so small a group. The need for action was great. At length, Alexander Hamilton, a young delegate from New York, suggested that a convention of all the states be called " to take into consideration the situation of the United States, and to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." This plan received unanimous approval. After considerable delay, the Congress of the Confederation adopted a similar resolution. Virginia led the way and one by one the other states chose delegates to this convention which proved to be one of the most important in the history of the world.

The Constitutional Convention. In Philadelphia the same plain red brick building which had been the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence now became the scene of action where some of the most capable men in the nation met to make independence real through a successful plan of cooperation. By the 25th of May, 1787, enough delegates were present to make it possible to organize and begin work. The convention remained in session all summer until September 17. Rhode Island alone sent no delegates; the other twelve states all had a share in making the constitution, which Gladstone called " the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." [1]

Leaders. Fifty-five men took part in the deliberations of the convention. Among them were some of the ablest men in the country. George Washington, delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. His good sense, courtesy, and fairness were an important factor in bringing harmony out of the many conflicting ideas which were presented. Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, was the oldest delegate. As a young man he had first proposed the Albany plan of union; and in his old age his kindly humor and his spirit of nationalism were helpful in bringing about the realization of the ideal he had

[1] Gladstone was one of the greatest British statesmen of the nineteenth century.

always held. James Madison of Virginia (afterward President of the United States) was one of the most active members of the convention. He spent much time in careful study of other systems of government in both ancient and modern times; and in the convention his ready knowledge of facts gave him a very great advantage, so that he has sometimes been called the "Father of the Constitution." Many of the other delegates were men who have taken a prominent part in the history of the country either before or after the adoption of the Constitution.[1]



JAMES MADISON, 1751–1836

Madison gave a lifetime of service to his country, but without doubt the most valuable was that given as a member of the Constitutional Convention. He is sometimes called "The Father of the Constitution."

Magnitude of Its Task. The task which the delegates faced was a prodigious one. Some of them came expecting simply to amend the Articles of Confederation in some important particulars; others believed the Confederation should be abolished and a national government established in its place. One of the fundamental difficulties with the Articles of Confederation was that Congress had no power to compel individuals to obey its orders; a national government would have that power, and could punish, by imprisonment or otherwise, those who refused to obey.

Mutual Distrust of Large and Small States. The delegates from the small states came to the convention fearful of the power of the large states. When it was proposed that representation in the new Congress should be based on population, the men from the small states were very strongly opposed. They argued that the three states of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania would have a full majority under such a plan. The large

[1] It is well to remember that the United States constitution is largely based on the individual state constitutions, and on British and other governmental methods with which the delegates were familiar.

states, on the other hand, had become very much dissatisfied with the old plan of allowing each state one vote regardless of its size or importance.

Problems Resulting from Different Sectional Interests. A decision to establish a national government was reached without serious difficulty, but the differences in the interests of the various sections made the actual organization of such a government a real problem. The New England states and New York were finding commerce an important and profitable business. The Carolinas and Georgia were chiefly interested in the raising of rice and indigo for export; Virginia and Maryland had their tobacco, and these southern states were dependent on negro slaves for their supply of labor. Each section therefore demanded provisions for its own protection and such provisions would be likely to interfere with each other. Some of the delegates seemed inclined to stop with half-way measures, as being more likely to be accepted by all the people. But Washington declared, "If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair." In this spirit, therefore, the convention set about the task of making a constitution which wise and honest men could approve.

The Virginia Plan. At the outset the Virginia delegates proposed a plan for the establishment of a national government and the formation of a real constitution. This plan proposed that there should be a national legislature consisting of two houses. The members of the House of Representatives should be elected by the people. The new government would thus become a government of the people, by the people, instead of a government of states, by states, as the Confederation had been. The Virginia plan next proposed that representation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate should be proportional to the wealth or population of the several states. The large states were generally in favor of this plan.

The New Jersey Plan. The small states, however, were very unwilling to see themselves swallowed up in this fashion. A few days later, the New Jersey delegates made a different pro-

posal providing for what they called a federal plan. Their suggestion was that the Congress should consist of one house, the members to be elected by the state legislatures, each state having equal representation.

The Connecticut Compromise. For a time it seemed certain that no agreement could be reached. The vote was a tie, the large states favoring the Virginia plan, and the small states the New Jersey plan. The real question was whether the necessary power could be divided between the states and the national government. Feeling ran high; and some of the delegates threatened to leave. "The convention," said one member, "was on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair." Just when things looked darkest, the Connecticut delegates suggested a compromise which provided for a Congress of two houses; members of the House of Representatives to be elected by the people in proportion to wealth or population; the members of the Senate to be elected by the state legislatures and each state to have the same number. "Yes," said Franklin, "when a joiner wishes to fit two boards, he sometimes pares off a bit from both." So the two "boards," the large state plan for the House of Representatives, and the small state plan for the Senate, were joined together to form the Congress. With the adoption of this compromise, the greatest difficulty in the way of a new constitution had been solved.

The Three Fifths Compromise. The second problem which vexed the makers of the constitution was what to make the basis of proportional representation. Because wealth was difficult to determine, they soon decided in favor of population, and provided for a census every ten years in order that the population might be known. Then a serious question arose regarding the slaves. Were they persons or property? Nearly all the slaves were in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. These states wished to have their slaves counted as persons in determining the number of representatives; but the northern states, which had few negroes, argued that since slaves could not vote they should not be counted for that purpose. They were insisting, however, that the slaves should be counted in determining the

proportion of federal taxes to be levied. Finally Madison proposed a compromise, providing that three fifths of the slaves should be counted, both in apportioning representatives and direct taxes. This three fifths compromise, as it is called, was accepted (**8**);[1] and the plan was followed as long as slavery existed in the United States.

The Regulation of Commerce. Still another grave problem had to be solved. One of the chief reasons which had led to the calling of the constitutional convention was the necessity for regulating commerce. Most of the delegates believed in giving the new Congress some power over commerce, but the real difficulty was in determining how much. South Carolina and Georgia wished to continue the slave trade; and all the southern states were afraid of giving Congress unlimited power to pass navigation acts and tariff laws. Most of the states objected to the slave trade. The New England states were insistent that Congress be given full power over foreign and interstate commerce. Finally another compromise was arranged, providing that the slave trade might be continued for twenty years (**61**); that Congress might pass navigation acts and regulate commerce (**44**); but that there should be no taxes levied on exports from any state.

The Question of Approving the Work of the Convention. After four months of hard work, the constitutional convention adjourned in September, 1787, and the Constitution was sent to the several states for their approval. As soon as conventions in nine states should ratify the new Constitution, it would go into effect in the approving states.

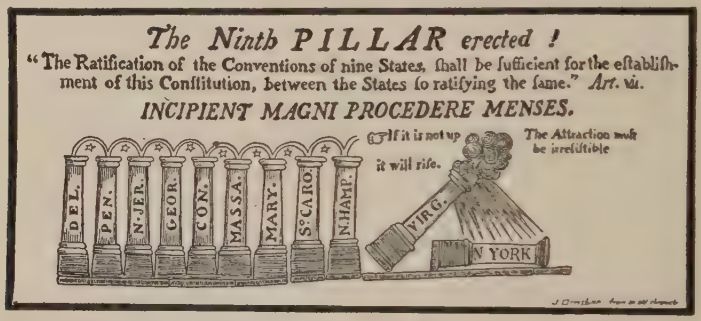
Constitutional Parties and Their Struggles. No sooner was the Constitution submitted to the people than great differences of opinion appeared. Soon there were two parties, the Federalists, who favored ratification; and the Anti-Federalists, who opposed it. Among the most famous opponents of the Constitution were Richard Henry Lee, who had made the motion in favor of independence in the Second Continental Congress; Patrick Henry,

[1] The numbers in heavy-faced type in this and succeeding chapters refer to passages in the Constitution of the United States (Appendix, pp. 595 ff.) where the corresponding numbers appear in the margin.

the apostle of independence; Samuel Adams and John Hancock, Massachusetts patriots.

The fight waxed hot; hard names were used; even Washington was called a "born fool." The principal objections to the Constitution were that it created a national legislature in which the voting was by individuals, not by states; that this Congress would have unlimited power of taxation; that too much power was granted to the federal courts; that it created a standing army; and that it did not contain a Bill of Rights.

Among the Federalists were such men as George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, afterwards Secretary of the



An old cartoon to illustrate the need for the ninth ratification.

Treasury, and John Jay, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The weakness of the Confederation was the most convincing argument [1] in favor of a stronger central government. As Washington expressed it, "The Constitution or disunion are before us to choose from."

Ratification. The first state to ratify the Constitution was Delaware in December, 1787. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut soon followed, but nine states were necessary to put the Constitution into effect. A great struggle took place in Massachusetts; opinion was so closely divided that even a single vote might decide the result. Samuel Adams sat in the Massachusetts convention for nearly two

[1] Hamilton, Madison, and Jay set forth their most telling arguments in a series of papers known as the Federalist.

weeks with scarcely a word except a question now and then. Finally after it had been explained that certain features of the Constitution were a necessary compromise between the views of so many delegates, Adams spoke, "I am satisfied." Massachusetts ratified on February 6. In April Maryland gave her approval, and only two more states were needed. The opposition in the other six states was serious. New Hampshire met once and postponed action; South Carolina after long debate ratified in May. In Virginia, the largest of all the states, the debate was

Parade in Honor of the Adoption of the Constitution.

the bitterest. Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee were eloquent in picturing the dangers from so powerful a central government; while Madison, Governor Randolph, and John Marshall, afterward Chief Justice of the United States, worked untiringly for the new Constitution. At length, by a close vote, Virginia gave her approval on June 25. Four days earlier New Hampshire had met a second time and voted favorably. The couriers from the two states, as they spurred their horses over the long roads, shouted the good news to each other in passing. Ten states had ratified and the new and stronger union was assured. The life of the nation was saved. On July 4, 1788, such a celebration

occurred as never before was seen in our history, with processions and bonfires and speeches galore.

Before the end of July, New York, whose size, wealth, and geographical location made her consent very important, also ratified. North Carolina and Rhode Island remained outside the Union until 1789 and 1790 respectively.

The Bill of Rights. Several of the states, including Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Virginia, had insisted on amendments guaranteeing the personal liberty of the individual. As soon as it could be done, several such amendments were submitted to the states for approval. Ten of them were adopted. They are the first ten amendments of the Constitution, and are often called the Bill of Rights (**121-131**).

Divisions of the Government. The Constitution which thus became the law of the land establishes the form of the United States government. The machinery by which it is run is classified under three heads, legislative, executive, and judicial.

The Legislative Branch. The work of making laws (legislative) is given to a Congress consisting of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives (**2**). Each state is entitled to elect two Senators (**15**). Since 1913, the Senators have been elected by direct vote of the people of the state for six-year terms (**147**). At present there are ninety-six Senators. The Vice-President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate (**20**). In his absence, one of the Senators is chosen to preside (**21**). Nearly all of the actual work of making laws is done through committees, of which there are many. The number of members of the House of Representatives is fixed by law after each census (**9**). The present law provides for 435 members. These are apportioned among the states according to the population (**140**). Each state has at least one representative (**10**). The legislature of each state usually divides the state into districts as nearly equal in population as possible, and each district elects one representative for two years. As in the Senate, nearly all the real work is done by committees of the members. The presiding officer, called the Speaker, is chosen by the representatives (**13**).

The Executive Branch. The work of administering the laws (executive) is entrusted to the President of the United States, who is elected for four years (**74**). The Vice-President is elected at the same time and succeeds to the Presidency upon the death or disability of the President (**81**). The President with the consent of the Senate appoints the Cabinet, members of which are the heads of the big government departments. At present there are ten members of the Cabinet.[1] All the other executive officers and employees of the federal government from the postmaster in every town to ambassadors to foreign countries are appointed in the name of the President (**88**), that is, either by him personally or by some one acting for him (**89**). Inasmuch as there are hundreds of thousands of such persons to be appointed, the President himself cannot know all the appointees. A large number of these appointments must be approved by the Senate (**88**); and a custom has grown up by which the Senators or Representatives usually recommend the persons to be appointed.

The Judicial Branch. The work of enforcing the laws and punishing those who disobey them is the work of the judiciary. The Supreme Court (**96**), consisting of nine men appointed by the President for life or during good behavior, is the highest court in the land; it may even declare unconstitutional a law passed by Congress. There are also nine circuit courts of appeal and more than one hundred district courts. All federal judges are appointed in the same manner as judges of the Supreme Court (**88**). The majority of law cases are tried before municipal and state courts; the Constitution defines as accurately as possible what kinds of cases only may come before the federal courts (**98**).

Powers of Congress. The powers of Congress are extensive (Art. I, Sect. 8). They include power to regulate commerce both with other nations and among the several states (**44**); to declare war (**52**), and direct the military and naval forces of the country (**55**); to lay and collect taxes (**42**); to borrow money (**43**); and finally to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to

[1] The Secretary of State (or Foreign Affairs), Secretary of War, Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney-General, Secretary of the Navy, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Labor.

carry out any of the powers granted by the Constitution (**60**). Certain other powers are denied to Congress and many are reserved to the states (Art. I, Sect. 9). Then there are other powers which are not mentioned; the makers of the Constitution supposed that all those not mentioned would belong to the states (**131**). From the very beginning there has been a strong tendency for Congress to exercise what are called *implied powers*, that is, powers not specifically named in the Constitution, but which may be regarded as necessary to carry out some powers which are named (**60**). To the Senate is granted the power of approving the President's appointments to federal offices (**88**), and of sharing in the making of treaties (**87**). All bills for the raising of money must originate in the House of Representatives (**36**).

Powers of Executive. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy (**84**), appoints all federal officeholders (**88**), negotiates treaties (**87**), and may veto any law passed by Congress (**38**). The Executive Department, through the cabinet officers and the other persons in the government employ, carries on all the work of the post office department, collects taxes, builds federal buildings, cares for the Indians, makes coast and geological surveys, and performs thousands of other services. Through the ambassadors, consuls, and other members of the diplomatic service, the Executive Department has charge of all our dealings with foreign countries.

Power of the Courts. The authority of the courts is limited to cases affecting the enforcement of federal laws, cases where persons living in different states are involved, and the like (**98**). Practically all the cases which come before the Supreme Court are brought on appeal (**99**). That is, one of the parties to a suit is not satisfied with the decision of a lower court and makes an appeal to have the case tried in a higher court.

Overlapping Powers. Carefully as the makers of the Constitution worked, there are some cases of overlapping powers, that is, cases where either the federal government or the state may act. If both take action, that taken by the federal government becomes the law (**116**). Sometimes neither one takes action; such twilight zones, as they have been called, make possible

some actions which are morally wrong but against which there are no laws.

How a Bill Becomes a Law. The process of making a law is very complicated (**37**). First, a bill is introduced into either House, by a member.[1] Then it is "read," though usually only the title is read, and the bill is referred to some one of the many committees. A very large proportion of the bills introduced never get beyond this point. Next the committee considers the bill, amends it to meet the wishes of the members, and reports it back to the House. Usually the committee at the same time states the reasons why the bill should be passed. Then the bill is read a second time (by title only), ordered printed so that each member may have a copy to study, and placed on the calendar; that is, it must take its turn with all the other bills for getting consideration. A great many bills which are approved by a committee never get beyond this stage. So many of them get on the calendar that Congress may adjourn before their turn comes. So if it is an important measure, someone will have it made a special order of business for some particular day. When its time comes, the bill is read, discussed, perhaps amended, and finally voted on. If it receives a majority of the votes, it has passed that House. Now it must go to the other House, where exactly the same process is repeated. When it passes the second House, the bill may have been amended so as to differ more or less from the form in which it first passed. In that case, it is necessary for some agreement to be reached as to an identical wording which will be satisfactory to both Houses. This is usually done by referring the bill to a joint committee made up of members of both branches of the Congress. When the bill has finally passed both Houses in identical form, it goes to the President for his signature. If the President signs it, the bill becomes a law (**38**). If the President vetoes it, it goes back to the House where it was first introduced. It can be passed over the veto by a two thirds vote in each House (**39**); or it may be amended in such a way as to satisfy the President.

[1] A bill that requires levying taxes must originate in the House of Representatives (**36**).

Relation of the Supreme Court to a Law. The process of making a law is so complicated, and there are so many persons who have a right to propose amendments to the bill, that the meaning of the completed law is often obscure. Many times an administrative officer will issue an official explanation of what the law means. Or a suit may be brought in a federal court to have the federal judges decide upon the real meaning. A decision by the Supreme Court is the final interpretation of the law.

Work of the Cabinet. The Cabinet is an important part of the government. Its members frequently meet with the President to discuss the right method of handling various problems. These heads of the big government departments also submit reports to Congress (**85**), in which they recommend legislation they believe to be needed.

Unwritten Laws. By custom, a great many things which are not mentioned in the Constitution have come to be regarded as "unwritten laws." For example, there is no mention in the Constitution of the Cabinet, nor of the custom by which Senators and Representatives are consulted before appointments to office are made. No president has ever been elected for a third term, and that custom has almost the force of law. The Speaker of the House has much more power than the makers of the Constitution foresaw.

Power of the People Under the Constitution. Under our form of government the real power lies in the hands of the people. The Constitution itself begins, "We the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." (**1**). The government is not something apart from us, it is a part of us. We, the people, can control the government and can make it what we will, provided, of course, that enough of us can agree on what we want.

Who Are Voters? All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens (**137**), and are entitled to the equal protection of the laws (**138**). Citizens are not all entitled to a share in voting (**141**). Each state makes its own laws with reference to the right to vote.[1] Many states require a certain degree

[1] Subject, of course, to the 14th, 15th, and 19th amendments.

of education or the evidence of having paid a certain amount of taxes before a citizen is entitled to vote. There is no denial of democracy in this, provided the requirement is low enough so that any ambitious citizen may meet it, and provided the law is fairly administered.

Amending the Constitution. It is true that the makers of the Constitution limited the power of the people to act directly, and some of these limitations still exist. Until all the people are sufficiently educated to understand the problems of government, some of these limitations may be wise. A method is provided in the Constitution itself by which such changes as the great majority of the people demand can be secured. The method is by amending the Constitution (Article V). Two ways of securing amendments are provided, but only one of them has ever been used. Each of the nineteen amendments to the Constitution first received a two-thirds majority in each of the two Houses of the Congress (**111**). The proposed amendment was then submitted to the legislatures of the several states. It had to receive the approval of three fourths of all the states before it became a part of the Constitution (**113**). The method is slow; but any change which a large number of people really want can be secured in this way.

The Election of the President. The people also get an indirect opportunity to express their opinion regarding the administration of the nation's business each four years in the presidential election (**74**). Under our party form of government, the power of the individual voter is very limited, but the power of all the voters who combine into one of the large political parties is very great. The candidates for president and vice-president are nominated at great national conventions. Delegates to these conventions are chosen by the voters in each state who belong to that particular party. At the election in November, the individual voter does not vote for president and vice-president directly. Instead he votes for several persons, called electors (**75**), who are expected to vote for certain men for president and vice-president.[1] The individual voter can, therefore, express very definitely his pref-

[1] The number of electors to be chosen in each state is equal to the number of Senators plus the number of Representatives in Congress from that state and varies at present from three to forty-seven.

erence among the several persons who have been nominated for president. There is no method by which a voter can express his wishes regarding any particular measure.

The presidential electors meet at the forty-eight state capitals and cast their votes for president and vice-president (**133**). The record of their votes is sent to Washington and they are counted in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives. A person must receive a majority of all of the electoral votes in order to be elected. If no one has such a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives chooses a president from among the three candidates having the highest number of such votes (**134**). It is a complicated method of electing a president; and there seems to be very little argument today against having the president elected directly by the people.

The Importance of the Midterm Elections. Every two years, at the presidential elections and midway between them, come the Congressional elections (**3**), at which one third of the Senators and all the Representatives are chosen. These elections every two years give the people an important share in approving or disapproving of the manner in which the government is being conducted. Unfortunately, these elections occur in November, the newly elected Congress does not take office until March, and unless called together in special session (**92**) does not meet until the following December (**25**), thirteen months after the election. That is an unnecessarily long time to wait for the voice of the people to reach the halls of Congress.

The Power of Public Opinion in Government. One of the most common ways of making the wishes of the people effective is through the force of public opinion. What people think about all kinds of government questions is expressed in the various newspapers and magazines of the country. The individual citizen may express his opinion either through the columns of a newspaper, or by speeches on the subject, or by means of letters and telegrams sent directly to Senators and Representatives. It is very rare, indeed, that Congress fails to respond to public opinion when it becomes evident that a large majority of the people favor any particular course of action.

The Constitution of the United States may not be perfect; but it is the best Constitution which the wisest Americans of 1787 were able to make, and it has stood the test of time. It has been amended to meet the wishes of the majority of the people. Under the Constitution, any popular majority which is united and remains united for a long enough time has power through the force of public opinion, through the numerous elections of Congressmen and Presidents, and through the method of amending the Constitution, to get the kind of government the people desire.

CHAPTER XVI

ORGANIZING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

I. Setting the Machinery in Motion *Poems, p. 274*

A. Preliminaries *Hart, p. 121*
1. The Congress of the Confederation acts.
2. The elections.

B. Getting started
1. Congress meets. (*a*) Delays caused by slow transportation.
2. Counting the electoral vote.
3. Washington inaugurated.
4. Difficulties to be overcome.

C. Providing the machinery of government
1. The cabinet.
2. The federal courts.
3. The census and apportionment bill.

II. The Problem of Finance *Hart, pp. 186–188*

A. The government debt
1. National. (*a*) Foreign. (*b*) Domestic. *File, pp. 187, 188*
2. State. (*a*) Assumption bill, and location of national capital.

B. The raising of revenue
1. The tariff.
2. The excise. (*a*) The Whisky Rebellion.

C. The National Bank
1. The rise of parties. (*a*) Federalist. (*b*) Democratic-Republican.

III. The New Government and the Western Country

A. Ohio and the Northwest
1. The Northwest Ordinance.
2. Settlements begun.
3. English retain the western forts.
4. Indian warfare.
5. Treaty of Greenville.

B. The Southwest
1. Kentucky and Tennessee.
2. Navigation of the Mississippi.
3. Treaty with Spain.

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

I. If the 1790 ratio of representation were now used, how many members would the House of Representatives have?

II. What is the relationship between confidence and credit?
What is the connection between bad roads and the Whisky Rebellion?

III. Why was the use of the Mississippi river more important in 1795 than it is today?

Special Reports: Lives of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton (see pages 555, 557)

Here

The First Election Under the New Constitution. The new Constitution of the United States was only a paper form. The momentous task of converting it into a living organism was yet to be performed. The old Congress of the Confederation had to prepare the way. So after it became known in the summer of 1788 that the new Constitution had been adopted, Alexander Hamilton, a member from New York, proposed and carried through an ordinance naming the first Wednesday in January, 1789, as the time for choosing presidential electors, and the first Wednesday in March as the time when the new Congress should assemble in New York.

Representatives and senators were duly chosen by the various states, the former elected by the people (**3**) and the latter by the legislatures (**15**), as the Constitution provided. Presidential electors (**75**) were chosen in all the states which had ratified the Constitution, except New York, where there was a delay. Early in February these electors met in their various state capitals and cast their ballots for president (**77**).

George Washington Elected President. Roads were bad, bridges scarcely existed, and travel by land or sea in the winter season was very difficult. Furthermore some of the new congressmen were not particularly impressed with the importance of their new offices. They were so slow in reaching New York that it was a full month after the fourth of March before the new Congress was organized. Its first official act was to open and count the ballots (**77**). No one was surprised when it was discovered that every presidential elector had cast one of his two votes for George Washington, who was thus unanimously elected President.

The next greatest number of votes went to John Adams of Massachusetts, who therefore became the first Vice-President. Messengers were at once sent off to notify the successful candidates of their election.

The Inauguration. Washington preferred to remain in the quiet of his home at Mount Vernon rather than to accept a position beset with so many difficulties and so perilous to his reputation and peace of mind. But when the unanimous call of his country came, he did not hesitate. He set out for New York, constantly

Trenton, New Jersey, gave Washington an enthusiastic welcome on his way to his inauguration.

attended by escorts of distinguished men. Women and children strewed flowers in his pathway, and wild expressions of joy greeted his appearance. The inauguration had been set for April 30. Attired in a suit of deep brown, with white stockings, silver buckles, and powdered wig, Washington took his place on the balcony of the old Federal Hall in Wall Street. The chancellor of the state of New York read the oath of office (**83**). And Washington, with his hand upon an open Bible, replied, "I swear; so help me God." Cannon boomed, bells rang, and people shouted. The first President of the United States had taken a firm hold on the tiller of the ship of state. With so great

and good a man at the helm, there was reason to hope for a safe voyage.

The Tasks of the New Government. Merely inaugurating a president, however, did not solve the problems of the new government. Everything was to be done, and there were few precedents to point the way to their accomplishment. There was no money in the treasury; and there were many debts unpaid. Wise counselors must be selected, honest and upright judges appointed, foreign governments dealt with, and a dignified official ceremony established which would not be out of harmony with republican principles. Washington went about his task carefully and thoughtfully and with a dignity which commanded respect.

WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AT FEDERAL HALL

This drawing is from the only known representation of Washington's inauguration made at that time. New York's City Hall, built in 1704, was remodeled in 1789, and named Federal Hall. In 1790 the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia and Federal Hall again became City Hall. It was torn down in 1812.

The Cabinet. Congress provided for three departments of government (**85**). Washington selected to head these departments: Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, as Secretary of State, in charge of the foreign affairs of the new nation; Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury; and Henry Knox, as Secretary of War, a position which he had held under the Confederation. Edmund Randolph was named Attorney-General.[1] The Constitution said nothing about a president's council; but Washington formed the habit of consulting these heads of departments frequently, and they became known as his Cabinet. As Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Washington chose John Jay. Circuit

[1] The Attorney-General was not made the head of a government department until 1870.

and district courts were also established and their duties defined (**96**).

The First Census. The Constitution provided that a census should be taken once every ten years (**9**). Accordingly in 1790

The country of which George Washington became President in 1789 had almost no inhabitants except along the Atlantic coast and a few in Kentucky and Tennessee.

the first census was arranged for. The result showed a free white population of 3,200,000, with 700,000 slaves, almost all of them scattered along within a few miles of the Atlantic seaboard. About 100,000 brave pioneers had crossed the Allegheny moun-

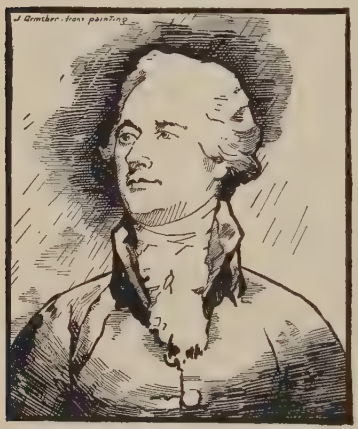
tains into the rich valleys of the Ohio and the Cumberland rivers. The largest city in the country was Philadelphia with a population of 42,000. New York had 32,000; and Boston, Charleston, Baltimore, and Salem were the only other cities which reached 10,000. As soon as the census figures were known, Congress passed a law apportioning representatives among the states in accordance therewith (7).

The Problem of the National Debt. The most pressing problem before the new government was that of finance. What should be done with the debts of the Revolution? Even the interest on these had not been paid. The new government had no money; and yet if the United States was to gain respect at home or abroad something must be done to pay these large sums of money which had been borrowed to carry on the war. Fortunately, Alexander Hamilton, whom Washington had named as Secretary of the Treasury, was a man of wonderful ability. In a series of reports to Congress he outlined measures which would bring about restored confidence and sound credit. There was a debt of nearly $12,000,000 owed to France and Holland. Hamilton proposed to exchange new United States bonds for the certificates of indebtedness held by the foreign creditors. Everyone was in favor of paying the foreign debt in full, and Congress readily passed the necessary laws.

Over $40,000,000 was due to soldiers of the Revolution and patriotic Americans who had loaned their money to the government during the war. These certificates of indebtedness had depreciated [1] until they were worth only twenty to twenty-five cents on the dollar, and many of the original holders had sold them to speculators. Hamilton's plan was to refund this debt also at its face value. There were some who objected to payment in full because they disliked to see the speculators get the money. Hamilton argued that the government must always pay in full whatever it had promised, and after some debate his plan was accepted.

[1] The same thing on a smaller scale has happened after every important war. Liberty Bonds sold at 80 to 85 cents on the dollar, two or three years after the World War ended.

The Question of the State Debts. Finally, there were over $20,000,000 of state debts incurred by the several states to help pay war expenses. Hamilton proposed that the federal government should assume all of them and guarantee their payment. The states which had large debts, such as Massachusetts and South Carolina, naturally favored this plan; but other states which had small ones, or which, like Virginia, had paid them off, were opposed. Hamilton argued that since the debts had been incurred to fight a war for the good of all, therefore all should help pay. An assumption bill providing for this was finally passed by Congress, after Hamilton had won some southern votes for it, by using his influence toward having the new national capital (**58**) located on the Potomac instead of farther north. The effect of all these measures was to establish the nation's credit on a firm basis; and the United States has ever since been able to borrow all the money it has needed.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON 1757–1804

Taxation Measures. To pay the running expenses of the government, meet the interest on the debt, and secure funds to pay off the bonds when they became due, Hamilton proposed two kinds of taxes. A tariff act, imposing a tax on goods imported from foreign countries, had already been passed by Congress. Hamilton now urged that this external tax, or tariff, be increased so as to bring more money into the treasury. Secondly, he proposed, and Congress passed, an internal revenue act, levying taxes on certain articles of domestic manufacture, especially whisky (**42**).

The Whisky Rebellion. The internal revenue tax has now become so much a part of our system of taxation that we pay it

and think little about it. But in these early days it was very unpopular, particularly in the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, where whisky was one of the chief products. The question of taxation had played a big part in the Revolutionary period, and the liberty-loving frontiersmen were quick to resent any invasion of their rights. It seemed unfair to them that a direct tax should be levied on whisky, one of the few products which they were able to transport across the mountains to market. The region about Pittsburgh became a center of serious opposition. Meetings were held, two or three thousand men gathered arms preparing to resist the collection of the tax, and a few people were killed in riots. But when Washington sent federal troops into western Pennsylvania to see that the national law was obeyed, the Whisky Rebellion collapsed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1743–1826

The First United States Bank. Another of Hamilton's financial plans provided for a United States bank. This would be a great boon to the business men of the country. Such a bank would receive deposits of individuals, have charge of the government funds, make loans to business men, and issue paper money, keeping a reserve of gold and silver to redeem any that might be presented. There was no specific mention in the Constitution of a bank; but Hamilton argued that it was one of the "necessary and proper" (**60**) functions of government, and, therefore, that the power was implied. This *loose construction* theory of the Constitution was stoutly opposed by Thomas Jefferson and many others who became known as *strict constructionists.* Jefferson said that a bank would be unconstitutional; it was not "necessary and proper" because all the services which such a bank would render could be per-

formed in another way. Congress, after much debate, chartered the bank in 1791 for twenty years.[1]

Political Parties Organized. The important differences of opinion which developed in relation to Hamilton's financial policy, particularly regarding the national bank, led to the organization of two political parties. During the debate over the adoption of the Constitution, those who had favored its adoption were known as Federalists and those opposed as Anti-Federalists. Many, but not all, of the Federalists now supported Hamilton's policy because it was in line with their ideas of a strong central govern-

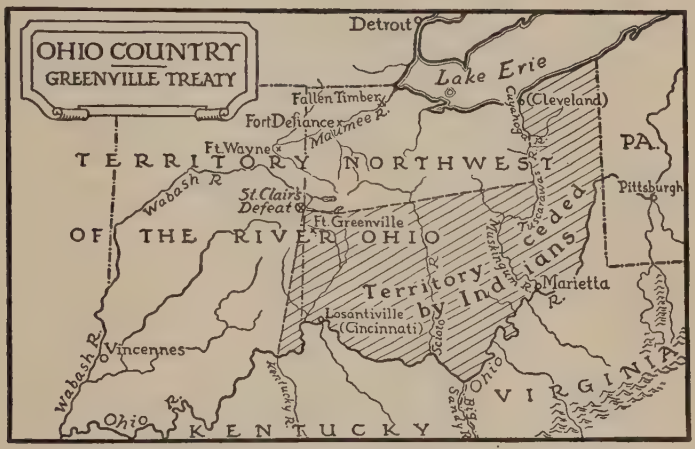
On the Ohio Frontier

ment. Washington, Adams, and Hamilton were the most prominent of the Federalists, and they had a strong following among the business men of the country. Thomas Jefferson became the leader of the opposition. He and his followers, among whom Madison was prominent, were not in favor of strengthening the central government at the expense of the state governments. They talked about *states' rights* and they based their faith on the wisdom of the common people instead of the superiority of any one class or group. The followers of Jefferson were called

[1] No objections were raised to Hamilton's plan for a mint to coin money; and Congress passed a law establishing the decimal system of coinage with dollars, dimes, and cents, in place of the English system of pounds, shillings, and pence which had been used heretofore. Some writers give Jefferson the credit for suggesting the decimal system.

Democratic-Republicans, or sometimes Republicans.[1] In the presidential election of 1792, they did not oppose Washington, who was reelected unanimously; but they did almost defeat Adams for the vice-presidency.

Settlement of Ohio Begun. Meantime, the future stronghold of the new party, the region across the Alleghenies, was receiving additions of settlers constantly. It will be recalled that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had paved the way for settlements



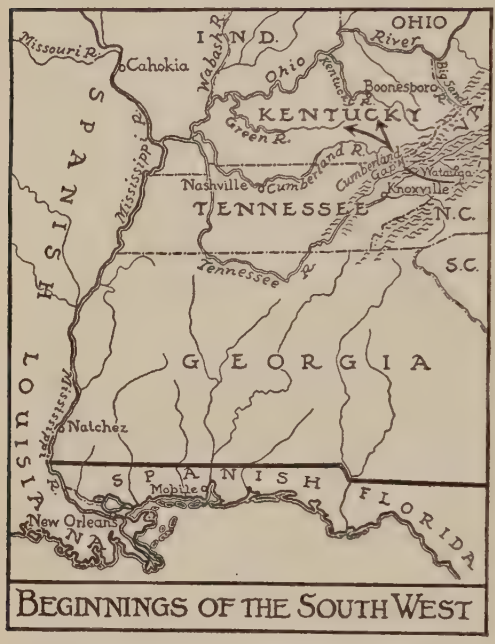
By the Greenville treaty, made after Wayne's victory at Fallen Timber, the Indians agreed not to disturb white settlements in the shaded area.

in the region north of the Ohio river. The first settlement was planted the next year at Marietta in Ohio. Other settlers came in increasing numbers, traveling over the mountains, through the wilderness, and carving out new homes for themselves in the densely wooded Ohio country.

Border Troubles. The early settlers had other difficulties to encounter. The Indians of the western country were in no mood to see their old hunting grounds occupied by settlers who would drive away their game. The English, contrary to

[1] The present party known as Republican has no relation to Jefferson's era. It was organized in 1854.

the terms of the treaty of 1783, had retained possession of several forts in this western country. Detroit was the most important of these. The presence of the British soldiers in these forts, together with gifts of ammunition and supplies from Canadian traders and officials, led the Indians to believe that the British would gladly see the new settlers driven out. Accordingly the Indians sent out scalping parties which attacked and pillaged outlying settlements. A force of 2,000 American soldiers was badly defeated by the red men in 1791, due to the carelessness of the American leader, St. Clair. The Indians became bolder in their attacks on settlers; efforts to negotiate a peace were fruitless; and the warfare continued until another general, Anthony Wayne, severely defeated them in the battle of Fallen Timber (1794). The next year the treaty of Greenville was signed, establishing a boundary between the Indians and the white settlers.



BEGINNINGS OF THE SOUTHWEST

Along the Cumberland Gap trail, made famous by Daniel Boone, plucky pioneers moved over the mountains from Virginia and the Carolinas into Kentucky and Tennessee. Watauga was their first settlement.

In the same year (1795) an agreement was reached with Great Britain under which the British troops were withdrawn. Southern and central Ohio was now open to settlement, and population

increased rapidly. A few years later (1803) Ohio was admitted as a state.

Kentucky and Tennessee. Meantime the region south of the Ohio river had been filling up with settlers even more rapidly. Kentucky, which had originally been organized as a county of Virginia, was admitted in 1792 as the fifteenth state,[1] and the first one west of the mountains. A few years later (1796) Tennessee, formerly a part of North Carolina, also became a member of the union of states.

The Mississippi the Highway of the West. The most serious problem of these settlers of the southwest was transportation. The routes over the mountains from Virginia and Carolina were mere bridle paths utterly impassable for any kind of vehicle. The settlers in the western country were accustomed to raising their own food and making their own clothing from skins or homespun; nevertheless there was an insistent demand for access to a market where their surplus products could be exchanged for other articles which they needed. The Mississippi river, with its tributaries, the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and others, furnished a natural highway from all this western country to the outside world. Unfortunately Spain held the mouth of the Mississippi and for many years persistently refused to allow American traders to use it. The need for a market became so great that there developed considerable sentiment among the western settlers in favor of seceding from the United States and uniting with Spanish America in order to get the use of the great river. Finally, however, the American minister to Spain, Thomas Pinckney, succeeded in getting a treaty (1795) which allowed American traders to ship their goods by way of the Mississippi, and provided a landing place near the mouth of the river where these goods might be transferred from the river boats to ocean vessels.

The solving of these many problems of the new national government cost Washington and his advisors many weary hours of anxious thought. But they had the satisfaction at last of knowing that many of the dangers which had threatened the life of the infant republic in the days of the Confederation were safely passed.

[1] Vermont had been admitted one year earlier, making fourteen states.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FEDERALISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY EUROPE

I. The Bond With Europe — *Fite, pp. 193–195*

A. How the United States was regarded by other nations

II. The French Revolution

A. Beginnings of the Revolution
   1. American sympathy.

B. Overthrow of monarchy

C. War in Europe

III. The Problems of Neutrality — *Van Loon, pp. 326–339*

A. Necessity for remaining neutral — *Hart, p. 194*
   1. Washington's proclamation.

B. Difficulties with France
   1. Citizen Genêt

C. Grievances against Great Britain
   1. Interference with trade.
   2. Impressment of seamen.
   3. The western forts.

D. Jay's Treaty
   1. How it was received in America.
   2. Effect on relations with Great Britain.
   3. How it appeared to the French.

IV. The Triumph and Fall of the Federalists — *Hart, p. 191*

A. The two parties — *Fite, pp. 205, 206*
   1. Attitude of each toward French Revolution.
      (*a*) Washington's Farewell Address.
   2. Election of 1796.
   3. Washington retires from the Presidency.

B. The X. Y. Z. affair
   1. Adams sends commissioners to France. (*a*) Their reception. (*b*) Adams publishes the correspondence.
   2. A state of war with France.
   3. Supremacy of the Federalists.
   4. Napoleon makes peace.

C. The downfall of the Federalists
   1. Alien and sedition acts.
   2. Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.

3. Jefferson elected President.
4. Federalist principles continued. (*a*) John Marshall, Chief Justice. (*b*) Jefferson makes a virtue of necessity.

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

II. What effect did the knowledge of the Revolution in America have on the French people of this period?

III. Why was it more difficult for the French to impress American seamen than for the British to do so?

Why was it difficult to secure a satisfactory treaty with Great Britain in 1795?

IV. Did the people who favored the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions believe this government to be a sovereign union of sister states or a union of sovereign sister states?

Could Alexander Hamilton have been elected President of the United States?

Special Topic: Life of John Marshall (see page 558)

The Bond with Europe. The War for Independence had freed the American colonies from the yoke of British rule. However, European statesmen could not think of the United States as an independent nation. At the very time when Washington and his advisors were busy with serious home problems, — getting the new government fairly organized, solving its financial difficulties, and instilling a spirit of respect for the national authority, — at that very time events were taking place in Europe which might easily have cut short the independent existence of this child among the nations.

The French Revolution. Six days after Washington became President in 1789, there met in France an assembly[1] of men whose acts ushered in one of the greatest struggles of the world's history, the French Revolution. For nearly two hundred years France had been an absolute monarchy with none to make the laws except the king himself and with none to check his royal will. The laws were all for the benefit of the king and the nobility. The common people, or peasants, were ground down beneath a

[1] This was the Estates-General, which was meeting for the first time in nearly two hundred years. It was called by the king because France faced bankruptcy.

weight of taxation and burdensome laws. But with the coming of the Revolution all this was changed. The new assembly did away with feudal burdens, equalized taxation, distributed the huge estates among the peasant farmers, and adopted a constitution which made all men equal before the law. With this struggle for liberty on the part of the French people, Americans were in full sympathy. There was a strong bond of friendship between the two nations.

France Involved in a European War. The French people had had no experience in self-government, and the Revolution soon ran to violent extremes. Civil war broke out between rival factions. The monarchy was overthrown and the king beheaded. Absurd and unnecessary changes were introduced.[1] Fanatics gained control of the government; and France became involved in a war with most of the nations of western Europe. Conditions reached their worst in the Reign of Terror, during which thousands of men and women, former nobles and even early leaders of the Revolution, were put to death on suspicion that their sympathies were with the old monarchy.

Our Obligations to France. The outbreak of war in Europe placed the United States in a difficult position. France had helped us win our independence in the Revolutionary War. By the terms of the treaty of 1778, the United States had guaranteed to France her New World possessions "forever." France now claimed that these colonies were in danger and she wanted our help.

Washington's Neutrality Proclamation. On the other hand, the United States was not strong enough to bring any effective aid to France. If she entered the war she would only throw herself open to an attack by Great Britain at the imminent risk of being reconquered. Friendship and sympathy were on the side of helping France; self-preservation was on the side of neutrality. In this emergency Washington consulted his advisors. They were of one opinion, that the United States must remain neutral. Even Jefferson, who was especially friendly toward

[1] For example, a new calendar was adopted doing away with Sunday, and making every tenth day a holiday.

France, favored neutrality, although he said it might "prove a disagreeable pill to our friends." So on April 22, 1793, Washington issued his famous Neutrality Proclamation declaring that the duty and interest of the United States required that she should "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward all belligerents."

"Citizen" Genêt, 1765–1834

Only twenty-eight years old when entrusted with the French mission to the United States, the over-enthusiastic Genêt ignored the American position of neutrality, and as a result Washington asked the French government to recall him. Genêt, whose party was out of power at home, chose to remain in America in private life. He settled in New York, married the daughter of the governor, and founded one of the important families of that state.

Citizen Genêt. Two weeks earlier, Citizen Genêt, the newly appointed representative of the revolutionary French government, had arrived at Charleston, South Carolina. This ardent Frenchman burned to draw the United States into the war against England, and he proceeded to fit out privateers to prey on British commerce, and to recruit men for service against Spanish Florida or British Canada.[1] So great was the sympathy in America for the French cause that Genêt was received with marked enthusiasm, not only in Charleston but all along his journey to Philadelphia, which was then the national capital. Washington, however, received him with cold formality, and soon afterward reminded him that American neutrality must be respected. Genêt apparently thought that the popular enthusiasm was so great that he could disregard Washington. He therefore threatened to make an appeal to the people to override the President. His threat had the opposite effect from what he expected; popular enthusiasm for the French cause decreased; and at the request of our government Genêt was recalled. The

[1] Great Britain and Spain were both at war with France in Europe.

result convinced the saner and more conservative elements of the American people that neutrality was the only proper course for them to pursue.

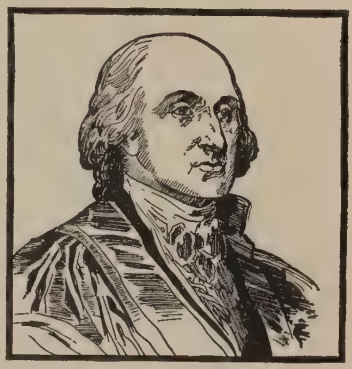
Grievances against Great Britain. The position of a neutral in a great war is always trying. It was especially so for the United States at this time. If she were bound to France by strong cords of sympathy and gratitude for past assistance, she was likewise bound to Great Britain by ties of a common ancestry, common ideals, and past habit. The British policy of conducting the war was aggravating, however, and made it difficult to maintain neutrality.

The first effect of the European war was to bring an immense volume of ocean trade to American shipowners, especially between France and the French West Indies. The British ministry soon issued orders to seize all ships and cargoes concerned in this trade. The British orders applied to the vessels of all nations, but they affected Americans chiefly because more Americans were interested in this commerce. The resentment against Great Britain produced by this action was increased by the British practice of impressing seamen from American merchant vessels and forcing them to serve in the British navy on the ground that they were British subjects.[1] In some cases native born Americans were mistaken for British seamen and seized. The fact that the British still held the western forts was likewise remembered; and an aggravating speech by the governor of Canada added to the popular indignation because it was believed that he was encouraging Indian uprisings. There was a popular cry for war, and threatening measures were introduced in Congress. A bill for absolutely prohibiting intercourse with Great Britain came within one vote of passing.

The Jay Treaty. For a time war with Great Britain seemed inevitable, but Washington was determined to avoid it if possible. Consequently he sent John Jay to London to undertake to secure a treaty which would settle all these difficulties. Jay found the

[1] Great Britain, like most other European nations at that time, did not admit that a citizen could change his nationality by the process of naturalization. In other words, a person born in Great Britain was always a British subject.

British ministers very cordial, and after four months of negotiations a treaty was drawn up and signed. When this treaty reached America in March, 1795, however, it aroused a storm of indignation. While it provided for the surrender of the western forts and for the payment of damages for ships unlawfully seized, it said not a word about the impressment of American sailors, and contained unsatisfactory provisions regarding trade. Our ships were still liable to capture if they carried food supplies to France or traded with the French West Indies. So great was the opposition to the treaty that Jay was hanged in effigy, Hamilton was stoned while defending it, and Washington was abused in violent language.



JOHN JAY, 1745–1829

The first Chief Justice of the United States resigned his office because he thought it comparatively unimportant. As one of the makers of the Revolutionary War peace treaty, and as the maker of the treaty of 1795 with England, he gave his country distinguished service. After serving as governor of New York, he was again offered the position of Chief Justice, but refused it.

But the ratification of the treaty removed the danger of a war with Great Britain, and this was enough to justify its adoption. The western forts were surrendered; and American commerce grew amazingly.

To the French, the Jay Treaty seemed like a slap in the face. That America, her friend, should sign a treaty with Great Britain, her enemy, seemed unbelievable.

Party Factions in America and the European War. To those in America whose sympathies lay strongly with the French cause, the Jay Treaty was likewise an unpardonable crime. All through the difficulties with France and England, the two political parties, which had begun in differences of opinion over Hamilton's financial policy, had been getting farther and farther apart. Jefferson, who had spent many years in France and who posed as a friend of the common people, was outspoken

in his enthusiasm for the French cause. The Republican party followed Jefferson's lead. They formed clubs with French names, adopted French modes of dress, and began to address each other as "Citizen" instead of Mr. or Sir.

The leaders of the Federalist party, on the other hand, being more concerned with the business and property interests of the country, were shocked by the excesses of the French Revolution and greatly feared the extension of such ideas of democracy to America. Naturally, therefore, they were inclined to the British side in the war. For a time the two parties might, with considerable fairness, have been called the "French" party and the "English" party.

Washington's Farewell Address. Washington saw the danger in this, and warned his countrymen against "passionate attachments" to any other nation. In his famous Farewell Address, he pleaded with the American people to restrain themselves, during the youth of the nation, from any action that would "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition."

John Adams, the Second President. As the time for the election of 1796 drew near, a new problem faced the American voters. Washington had absolutely refused a third term, there were no conventions such as we now have to nominate candidates for the presidency, and there was nothing for the electors to do but cast their votes for acknowledged party leaders. The Federalists very generally voted for John Adams, who was elected President. Most of the Republicans voted for Thomas Jefferson, and under the plan then in use (**77**), he was elected Vice-President. On the fourth of March, 1797, Washington's term expired and he withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon, loved by his friends and hated by his enemies. While he had warned his fellow citizens against the dangers of partizanship and had tried to keep himself aloof from parties, nevertheless his sympathies were strongly with the Federalists. Consequently the Republicans disliked him. Even Jefferson wrote, "I wish that his honesty and his political errors may not furnish a second occasion to exclaim, 'Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country.'"

The X. Y. Z Affair. The new President, who lacked the prestige of Washington's name, and who was sometimes headstrong and irritable, could not, therefore, expect the support of all parties. Adams's first difficulty was with France. A few months before his term closed, Washington had recalled James Monroe,[1] our minister to France, and sent Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina in his stead. The French government, still feeling that the Jay Treaty had been an unfriendly act, now refused to receive Pinckney, and even treated him discourteously. The French likewise began to capture American ships as the British had done. Adams was opposed to war and decided to send a commission of three men to deal with the French and secure an adjustment of grievances. John Marshall of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, were therefore sent to join Pinckney. The French government was at that time in the hands of five men known as the Directory. Talleyrand was the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Instead of being allowed to meet Talleyrand, the American commissioners were approached by three French agents, afterward known as X, Y, and Z, who suggested in a roundabout way that if the United States would make a loan to the French government and give a present of $50,000 to the five Directors, everything could be arranged. Pinckney and Marshall were disgusted and returned to the

JOHN ADAMS, 1735–1826

Signer of the Declaration of Independence, chairman of the war board of the Second Continental Congress, representative of his government at foreign courts, Vice-President, and finally President, John Adams was one of the most valuable of the many sons Massachusetts gave to the work of establishing a new nation.

[1] Monroe was accused of having been too strong a sympathizer with the French in his diplomatic relations. He was very popular with the French people and the French government.

United States. When the X Y Z dispatches were made public, popular indignation expressed itself in the cry, "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute."

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT

Washington's death from pneumonia December 14, 1799, plunged the whole country into mourning. He was buried at Mount Vernon in accordance with his own wish to rest among his friends and family. Public opinion, however, was strongly in favor of a suitable memorial in the national capital, and in 1800 Congress made provision for such a monument. The work was not completed until 1885, when on February 22, the beautiful shaft was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

On the Verge of War with France. Vigorous measures of defense were adopted, and the war fever spread from Maine to Georgia. Federalists and Republicans for the first time agreed in their attitude toward France. Steps were taken to recruit an army, and Washington was called from Mount Vernon to take command.[1] A Navy Department was created; privateers were fitted out and began to prey on French commerce. Apparently the firm attitude of the United States had its effect in France, for Talleyrand soon suggested that if another American minister were sent, "he would be received with the respect due to the representative of a free and independent nation."

War Avoided. Adams was eager to avoid war, and acted on this suggestion. By the time the American minister arrived in Paris, Napoleon Bonaparte had made himself head of the French government. He did not desire a war with America, and a satisfactory treaty was quickly signed (1800).

The Alien and Sedition Acts. The French hostilities for the

[1] It was while engaged in these duties that Washington contracted the cold which caused his death (1799).

time being made Adams popular, discredited the Republicans who had shown great sympathy for France, and gave the Federalists a majority in both Houses of Congress. Almost immediately the party destroyed its popularity by passing four laws, commonly known as the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798). The general purpose of these measures was to crush foreign influence and lessen the abuse of public officials. These laws increased from five to fourteen years the term required for naturalization; gave to the President full power to expel any alien from the country; and provided penalties for any person who conspired against the government, or who wrote or printed anything to bring any official into disrepute. Under these laws a Congressman who in a political campaign criticized the government for its "ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice" was fined $1000 and imprisoned for four months.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. Such an attempt to suppress free speech could have but one effect. Jefferson, the Vice-President, was the leader of those who declared that the Alien and Sedition Acts were destroying the liberties of the people. He undertook to organize public opinion against the laws and the party that had enacted them. Accordingly he wrote a set of resolutions, which the legislature of Kentucky adopted; while a similar set written by Madison was adopted by the Virginia legislature (1798). These Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions are the first clear statement of the theory that the Union was a compact made by sovereign states, the central government possessing only delegated powers, and that the individual states possessed the right to determine when acts of the central government should be effective, or when they should be considered null and void. These resolutions had little effect at the time, but the theory of government which they advanced was later adopted generally by the Southern states, and had a very important influence on our history.

The Election of 1800. Popular opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts made them good campaign material for the Republicans in the election of 1800. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were freely discussed and made to serve as a cloak

for a great amount of criticism of the Federalist party. A bitter personal quarrel between Hamilton, the Federalist leader, and Adams, the Federalist candidate for reelection, helped the Republicans to win a victory. The successful candidate was Thomas Jefferson.[1] His election had far-reaching significance. It marked the passing of the party which for twelve years had labored earnestly to establish a strong *central* government; it brought into office the party which was founded on the idea of supreme *state* power. Many people expected to see the government turned upside down. There were three reasons why their fears were not realized.

John Marshall Named Chief Justice. One of the last acts of John Adams before his term as President expired was the appointing of John Marshall as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (**88**). Marshall was a Federalist, and fully convinced in his own mind of the necessity for a strong central government. During the thirty-five years in which he served as Chief Justice, his great decisions on constitutional questions wrote this conviction into the law of the land until no mere party change could affect it.

The Foundation of our Government Established. Moreover, the Federalists had established *precedents* during their twelve years in power which their successors found it easy and wise to follow. Established ways of doing things that have been successful are likely to recommend themselves.

Again the new party met situations which could be solved only by the use of power by the central government. The foundation which the Federalists had laid proved to be an excellent basis on which to erect a government that could endure.

[1] In the election Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received the same number of votes. All the Republican electors intended to vote for Burr for Vice-President; but the Constitution did not then provide for indicating such a preference. The choice between the two men therefore fell to the House of Representatives (**77**). Burr joined with certain Federalist politicians in an unsuccessful effort to have himself named President and Jefferson Vice-President. The 12th amendment to the Constitution was adopted before the next election.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REPUBLICANS AND THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

I. The Republicans in Power — *Fite, pp. 207, 208*

A. The New National Capital

B. Character of Jefferson — *Hart, p. 89*

C. Gallatin and economy

1. The war with Tripoli.

II. The Louisiana Purchase — *Hart, p. 200*

A. The circumstances — *Fite, pp. 211–213*

1. Importance of New Orleans to United States.
2. Napoleon acquires Louisiana.
3. Jefferson sends commissioners to Paris. — *Poems, p. 340*

B. The sale

1. Why Napoleon was willing to sell.
2. Terms of the sale.
3. Effects in America. (*a*) Constitutional question. (*b*) Increases territory. (*c*) Increases central authority. (*d*) Quiets the discontent of the West.

C. Exploration of the new territory

1. Lewis and Clark. (*a*) Beginnings of Oregon.

III. European Warfare and American Trade — *Van Loon, pp. 340–351*

A. The Napoleonic Wars

1. Napoleon the tyrant of Europe.
2. A duel between England and France.

B. Interference with trade

1. Prosperity of American ocean trade.
2. The paper blockade.
3. Seizure of American ships.
4. Impressment of seamen. (*a*) The right of search. (*b*) The Chesapeake affair.

C. The American answer

1. The embargo act.
2. The non-intercourse act.
3. Breakdown of Jeffersonian diplomacy. (*a*) Napoleon hoodwinks Madison.

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

I. Hamilton had argued that a national debt was a good thing for the country. Gallatin insisted that it was a disadvantage and should be paid off as soon as possible. Which was right?

II. Would the use of steamboats have made New Orleans more or less important to the Americans?

III. Imagine a conversation between a merchant whose ship is held at a wharf in Boston because of the Embargo Act and a neighbor who is a partizan of President Jefferson.

Exercise: On a map trace the boundaries of the Louisiana purchase. Make a list of the present states which are wholly or partly within that area. From the table on page 593 estimate the present population of the region.

Special Report: Life of Madison (see page 561)

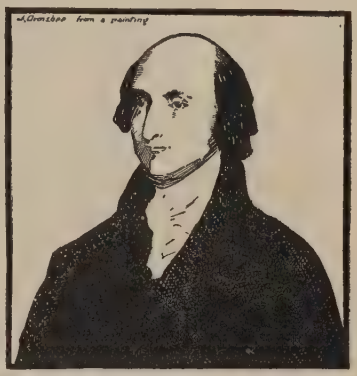
Thomas Jefferson Inaugurated. At noon on the fourth day of March, 1801, a tall, thin, awkward man walked across the open space between his boarding house in Washington and the unfinished capitol. There was nothing in his bearing or appearance to suggest that Thomas Jefferson was on his way to be inaugurated as President of the United States. The ceremony which inducted him into office was very unpretentious. In the presence of a few friends he took the oath and read his inaugural address. With such "democratic simplicity" began twenty-four years of the new Republican party's control of the government.

The New Capital. The "city" of Washington, the new capital of the nation, had a population of scarcely 3,000. None of the public buildings had been completed; and Pennsylvania Avenue was hardly more than a clearing through an alder swamp, except that stone chips from the buildings had been used to make a walk.

The Ideals of the New President. The new President prided himself on his democracy. As the representative of the common people, he was determined to do away with much of the stately ceremony which had marked the preceding administrations. His watchwords were *simplicity* and *economy*. His cabinet members were chosen because of their sympathy with these ideals.

People were surprised and somewhat disappointed that there was not a great upheaval of the government because of the change in the ruling party. In his inaugural address, Jefferson had prom-

ised to make only the most necessary changes, and in the main, he kept his word. He demanded certain reforms along the line of economy; and his Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, carried them out willingly. Gallatin was a naturalized Swiss, who by sheer intellectual force had become a power in the Republican party. He believed with Jefferson that the national debt was an oppressive burden which must be removed. To accomplish this, the greatest economy was practiced in the conduct of government business, the army and navy were decreased in size and gun boats were substituted for cruisers. Such boats, Jefferson planned, were to be used only in coast defense; and when necessary, to be manned with citizen sailors. Partly as a result of these economies, and partly because a new era of trade prosperity more than doubled the government's income from import duties, the nation was able to pay off half of its national debt within the following ten years.



ALBERT GALLATIN, 1761–1849

Gallatin was born and educated in Switzerland. After coming to America he tried teaching, farming, and storekeeping before he made politics his profession. His main interest was science, especially science as applied to finance, and it is for his accomplishments in this field he is best known. However, he was a very successful diplomat and served on so many treaty-making commissions that he was sometimes called "the Peacemaker."

The War with Tripoli. Jefferson won the approval of the civilized world by the energetic way in which he checked one drain on the national treasury. The pirates on the Barbary coast of North Africa had long preyed on Mediterranean commerce. Various European nations had been accustomed to pay tribute to these robbers from time to time in order to be free from attack; and the United States had been following the same plan. Jefferson sent an armed fleet to inform these pirates that the United States would no longer pay this bribe. Yankee ships

and gunners formed such a convincing argument that the Barbary chiefs soon agreed never to trouble American ships again. Other nations followed the lead of the United States and the Mediterranean pirates were finally driven from the seas.

The Problem of the Mississippi River Highway. The President's attention was soon drawn to a serious disturbance on the western frontier. Over 600,000 people had made their way across the Allegheny mountains and had established their homes in the fertile valleys. The Mississippi river was their great

THE FLATBOAT
Transportation on the Mississippi.

highway leading to the outside world. Hundreds of flatboats brought their produce down the river to New Orleans. Here, according to the Spanish treaty of 1795, the Americans had permission to land and reload their goods on ocean-going sailing vessels. Suddenly, in 1802, the Spanish governor of Louisiana announced that he could no longer permit Americans to use New Orleans for such a landing place. The news of this action created great excitement among the frontier farmers, who saw ruin staring them in the face. Some of them wanted to march at once to undertake the capture of New Orleans. Others wished

to ally themselves with the Spanish colony. The connection between these western settlers and the national government was none too strong; and Jefferson, man of peace though he was, knew that unless the Spanish decree was revoked, the nation must either fight for the rights of its western pioneers or lose them.

The Danger from French Control of This Highway. A strange rumor from over the sea complicated the situation. It was said that by a secret treaty in 1800, Napoleon, then at the height of his power, had persuaded the Spanish, who were absolutely under his control, to give him Louisiana in exchange for certain small territories in northern Italy. Napoleon was believed to be dreaming of a great colonial empire in the New World. No one believed that his greed for power would stop with the western bank of the Mississippi. The feeble Spanish government was far to be preferred as a neighbor, and Jefferson openly stated that he would ally himself with Great Britain rather than permit the French to establish themselves in Louisiana.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

Under the leadership of L'Ouverture, the blacks of San Domingo had established a republic with a liberal constitution and had begun a period of prosperity. Napoleon determined to reduce them to slavery, and an expedition 35,000 strong was sent out to accomplish this. Many historians believe that the French soldiers were to have subdued Hayti, and then to have occupied Louisiana, which the French held under a secret treaty. However, L'Ouverture fought so skillfully that a large part of the expedition was destroyed, and the French sued for peace. Then the black leader was persuaded to go to France, where he was treacherously imprisoned, and is believed to have been starved to death. He has been called the George Washington of his country.

Before Napoleon had acknowledged the truth of the rumor, a small revolution in San Domingo gave him an excuse for fitting out a large expedition

to send to the Caribbean. He doubtless felt that the San Domingan affair need not delay his army long, and it might then proceed to Louisiana. Once in military possession of the territory, he would be safe in announcing its ownership to the world.

Failure of French Plans. Mortal plans are often set at naught, however. A storm destroyed part of the expedition, and the stubborn and efficient resistance of the rebellious blacks under their great leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, finished the good work. Napoleon suddenly found himself without the armed force necessary to a military occupancy of the Louisiana territory, on the verge of another war with Great Britain, and with the possibility that the United States would ally herself with the English and easily acquire the land he had just gained in America.

The Purchase of Louisiana. Meantime Jefferson had sent James Monroe to join Robert Livingston, the American minister to France, with instructions to push the negotiations for the purchase of a strip of land near the mouth of the Mississippi to be used as a landing place for the transfer of frontier produce to ocean-going vessels. Napoleon suddenly surprised the American commissioners by offering to sell the whole of Louisiana. They had no authority to make such an agreement, but they had the good sense to take advantage of the opportunity and concluded a treaty of purchase. The total cost to the United States was $15,000,000.

The Constitution and the Purchase. When Jefferson learned of this bargain he was aghast. He had always been a staunch advocate of the strict construction of the Constitution. He did not believe the national government possessed the authority to make such a purchase, and proposed a constitutional amendment to legalize it. Warned that the bargain might be lost by delay, and realizing the enormous popularity of the acquisition of this new territory, he consented to complete the transaction and the treaty was ratified.

Importance of the New Territory. The purchase of Louisiana was an event of very great importance in American history. It doubled the area of the United States, and added greatly to

the natural resources of the country. It resulted in a great extension of the power of the central government, not only in making the treaty, but also in selling the land, encouraging

SIGNING THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE TREATY

settlement, and governing the territory. Moreover the control of the Mississippi river to its mouth forever ended the discontent of the West and produced a remarkable change in the attitude of the Westerners toward a government which could do so much.

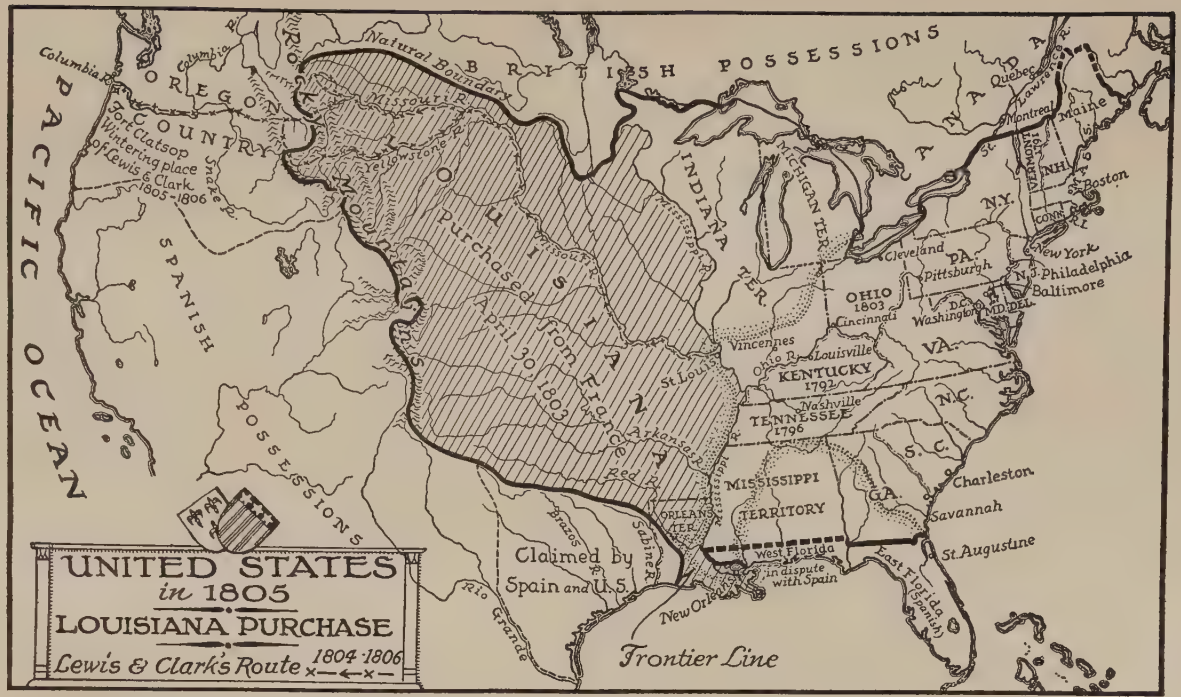
This is shown very clearly in the total failure a few years later of Burr's conspiracy.[1]

Expedition of Lewis and Clark. Jefferson's interest in science and education prompted him to send out an expedition under Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, to explore the new territory. With a company of forty-five men, they journeyed up the Missouri river to its source, crossed the Rocky mountains, and followed the Columbia river to the sea. This expedition not only blazed a trail for pioneers into the Louisiana territory, but also through its exploration of the Oregon country laid the basis for the nation's claim to that region.

Jefferson Reelected. The economy of the new administration, the success of the war with Tripoli, and the purchase of Louisiana were popular measures, reflecting such glory on Jefferson that he was easily reelected at the end of his first term. His second term, however, was filled with disappointment and chagrin. Jefferson's faith in man and in the persuasive power of reason was to be severely tried by impending European troubles.

English and French Interference with American Trade. Napoleon had made himself master of Europe; Austria, Prussia, the lesser states of Germany, Holland, Spain, and Italy were all under his control. Great Britain was the only formidable power opposed to him; and because of her great naval strength, Napoleon could not conquer the Mistress of the Seas. The United States was again in the unhappy position of a neutral who could not keep out of the way. Her ocean trade had grown to immense proportions. She was producing foodstuffs vital to the welfare of the warring nations. Over 90 per cent of her products were being carried in her own swift, staunch, sailing vessels, manned by her own expert seamen. Each of the two antagonists across

[1] Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States from 1801 to 1805, was defeated for governor of New York in 1804. He blamed Hamilton for his defeat, and killed him in a duel. Then Burr went West, apparently planning to establish a new government there. He had counted on the discontent of the Westerners, and this no longer existed. Burr was arrested and tried for treason. He was not proven guilty, but later died in disgrace.



The Louisiana Purchase practically doubled the area of the United States. Lewis and Clark, sent out by Jefferson to explore the newly acquired territory, pushed on to the mouth of the Columbia river, and were thus the first to cross the continent. The frontier line indicates approximately the limit of white settlements.

the sea looked covetously on this commerce. If either country could monopolize it, her enemy must suffer severely. Both French and British vessels began seizing American food ships whose papers showed them cleared for an enemy port, on the ground that food was contraband of war.[1]

At the same time, the two contestants undertook to establish "paper blockades." According to international law, a blockade must be announced, must be actual, and must be efficient. Any vessel attempting to run such a blockade does so at its own risk. Both the British and the French announced a blockade, but that is all they did. Napoleon had no ships with which to blockade England; while the whole British navy was not large enough to surround the territory under Napoleon's rule. But in spite of American protests, British and French warships stopped American vessels wherever they could be found and confiscated ships and cargoes if bound for an enemy port.

The Impressment of Seamen. To add to these evils, the English once more began the practice of carrying off sailors from American ships on the ground that they were British deserters. Great Britain's need for sailors was urgent because she was fighting for her very life. It was true also that deserters from the British navy were being attracted to American ships by higher wages and easier work. Forged American citizenship papers were openly sold in London. Moreover, the British had never admitted that a person born in Great Britain could change his nationality by the process of naturalization. Nevertheless the Americans were justified in protesting against the indignity of having their vessels stopped and searched for possible deserters, especially when native-born Americans were sometimes carried off to serve the guns of the British navy. Feeling ran high and reached a climax when the British ship *Leopard* opened fire on the American *Chesapeake*, because the American ship would not stop to be searched (1807). Three men were killed and several wounded. It was an act of war, and the country was aflame with righteous indignation.

[1] Defined in international law as material that would give aid and comfort to the enemy.

The Embargo Act. Jefferson's policy of economy, however, had left a lot of useless gunboats instead of a real navy. Under such circumstances the thought of war was absurd. The President proposed an embargo act by which all ships were forbidden to leave our harbors for foreign ports. He thought that depriving the French and British of food supplies from America would bring them to their senses. The cure proved worse than the disease. Ships rotted at the wharves, goods for export spoiled in the warehouses, sailors were out of work, and merchants lost their profits. The demand for the repeal of the Embargo Act was insistent. Finally it was granted, and the Non-Intercourse Act passed in its stead. This permitted trade with countries other than the belligerents, and had a clause which permitted the President to permit trade with either France or England if either should make a satisfactory agreement to respect our neutral rights.

James Madison Fourth President. Madison, who succeeded Jefferson as President, was eager to renew trade relations with either Great Britain or France or both of them. The British minister at Washington gave the President to understand that England would agree to let our ships sail unmolested if we would promise to send our wheat, rice, cotton, fish, and other supplies to her and not to France. More than a thousand vessels loaded with grain and other supplies were ready to sail. Madison gave the necessary permission, only to be told a few weeks later that the British government had never authorized its minister at Washington to make such a promise. Trade with Great Britain stopped as suddenly as it began.

Madison Hoodwinked by Napoleon. Napoleon now took a hand in the fray. First he ordered every ship flying the American flag in French ports to be seized and sold. He said this was to help Madison enforce the Non-Intercourse Act, since all these ships must have disobeyed orders in being away from home. Before Americans were fully aware of this action, Napoleon was busy on another plan to try to involve us in a war with Great Britain. He now promised to discontinue all interference with American trade if the United States would enforce the Non-

Intercourse Act against Great Britain. Relying solely on this promise, and in spite of warnings from those who knew Napoleon's treachery, Madison issued orders forbidding trade with Great Britain and permitting it with France. Napoleon did not keep his word, and French aggressions on American commerce continued.

Self-Assertion an Imperative Need. The feeling of unrest and anger in the United States increased. War with either or both of the two nations who were constantly insulting her seemed the only way to solve the problem. The position of a neutral whose rights no one respected was becoming unbearable. Patient endurance had accomplished nothing, and protests had gone unheeded. If America was to have her share in the freedom of the seas, it was apparent that she must fight.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NATION PROVES ITS INDEPENDENCE

I. The Fight for a Free Sea *Poems, p. 287*

A. The situation in America and Europe

1. In America. (*a*) Attractiveness of the glory of war. (*b*) Causes for war. (*c*) The "War Hawks" in Congress. (*d*) Attitude of New England Federalists.
2. In Europe. (*a*) The struggle. (*b*) Dilemma of the United States.

B. The American offensive *Fite, pp. 228–229*

1. The plan for a threefold invasion.
2. Working the plan. (*a*) Hull at Detroit. (*b*) Battle of Niagara. (*c*) Victory on Lake Erie. (*d*) Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.
3. The war on the sea. (*a*) Skill of American seamen. (*b*) Effect of British resources. (*c*) Work of the privateers.

C. The British retaliation *Poems, p. 318*

1. Occupation of the Maine coast.
2. Washington taken.
3. Battle of New Orleans.

D. The treaty of peace

1. Preliminaries.
2. Conditions.
3. Accomplishments.

II. The New Spirit of Nationality *Fite, pp. 230–237*

A. Establishment of a national bank

B. Protection for manufacturers

1. Development of manufacturing. (*a*) Effect of Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts. (*b*) Effects of war. (*c*) Post-war competition.
2. The Protective Tariff of 1816. (*a*) Attitude of leaders and sections. (*b*) Effect of inventions. (*c*) Response to demands of manufacturers.

C. Demand for internal improvements

1. Question of constitutionality.
2. The national road.

D. The era of good feeling

1. Effect of war on national spirit.
2. Personality of the new President.
3. His tours.
4. Passing of party bitterness.

III. Adoption of a More Vigorous Foreign Policy *Van Loon, pp. 352–362*

A. The Florida purchase
   1. Conditions (*a*) Disputed boundaries. (*b*) Work of Jackson.
   2. Other complications. (*a*) Texas. (*b*) Pacific coast.
   3. Terms of the treaty.

B. The Monroe Doctrine *Van Loon, pp. 370–378*
   1. Purpose.
   2. Conditions which called it forth. (*a*) Russian colonization schemes. (*b*) The Spanish-American Republics. (*c*) The Holy Alliance.
   3. What Monroe said.
   4. The attitude of Great Britain.
   5. Importance of the Doctrine.

C. America proves her independence

Problems

TOPIC

I. What had geography to do with the American declaration of war?
II. What would the United States do with her surplus products under an "American System?"
III. Why did Monroe so readily consent to give up to Spain the American claim to Texas?

Exercise: Make a list of the events which took place between 1812 and 1824 that helped to make the United States more independent of Europe.

Special Report: Life of John Quincy Adams (see page 563)

The Provocation to War. Time softens the hideousness of war and accents its glories. The Americans of 1812 had forgotten what the Revolution had cost their fathers, and were ready to plunge into a similar struggle to win for themselves a similar fame. Certainly they had provocation enough.

British and French aggressions on American commerce had become almost unbearable; impressment was a national insult; and the Indian unrest, due, so many Americans believed, to British encouragement, was a constant danger to western pioneers.

The War Hawks in Congress. President Madison was a man of peace; but the new Congress which met in 1811 was controlled by a group of young men who resented with the ardor of youth the insults heaped upon the United States by Great Britain and France. Chief among these "War Hawks" were Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

They desired war, and the Republicans of the West and South, almost to a man, agreed with them.

New England Federalists Opposed to War. Only the small remnant of the Federalist party, in its New England stronghold, stood for peace. This was due not only to the party's traditional friendship for Great Britain, but also to the fact that its commercial activities, which had suffered greatly already, would suffer even greater hardships in case of war. Although they were few in numbers, the opposition of these Federalists was important because they were strong in finances. The whole country was to suffer in the next few years because of their refusal to aid in what they were pleased to call "Mr. Madison's War."

THE AMERICAN ATTACK AT DETROIT AND NIAGARA

Expecting quickly to conquer Canada, the American forces launched unsuccessful attacks against the British at Detroit and Queenston Heights (near Niagara).

The Hartford Convention. Even as late as 1814, the New England Federalists held a meeting of protest against the continuation of a struggle which did indeed work special hardship in their section. That meeting, known in history as the Hartford Convention, was generally believed to have secession as its object. The signing of the treaty of peace put an end to such a possibility at the time; but the affair marked the forging of another link in the chain that began with the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and ended with the Civil War.

The Struggle in Europe. In Europe, France and England were nearing the end of a twenty-year conflict that had involved the major part of the civilized world. The severity of the struggle had led both of them to the violations of international law from which the United States had suffered. At this particular time

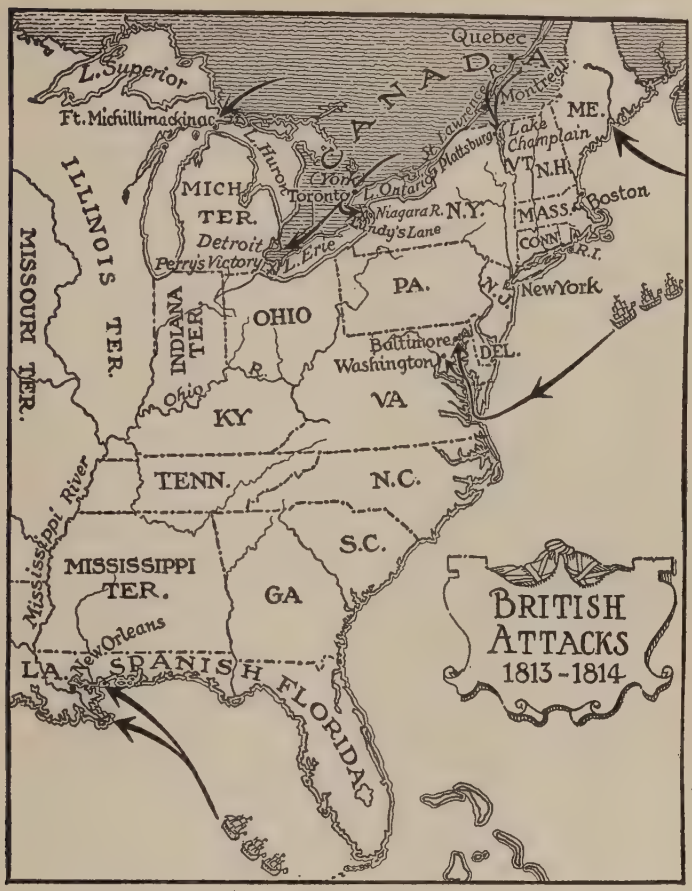
France under Napoleon stood for autocracy, while England represented what might, by contrast, be called democracy. If the United States declared war against one of the two, she would render practical assistance to the other.

The Declaration of War. In Congress, Henry Clay advocated the striking of England through Canada. He pointed out that

During Perry's Victory on Lake Erie

Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, bore the full force of the opening attack of the British, and was completely crippled. Taking the flag with him, Perry had himself rowed to the *Niagara*, from whose decks he continued the battle so valiantly, that one by one the enemy ships struck their colors.

there were three natural gateways in her border, at Detroit, at Niagara, and by way of Lake Champlain, through which a victorious American army might sweep on to "dictate an honorable peace at Halifax." Clay was counting on sympathetic aid for the Americans from Canada itself; and was failing to take into consideration the lack of military training among the people of the United States, the small size of the army, the national government's imperfect control over the state militias, and the



After the failure of the American attacks of 1812, the British made equally unsuccessful attempts to invade the United States, as indicated by the arrows. On the coast of Maine and at Washington considerable property was destroyed, but no important results were achieved.

overwhelming difficulties of transportation in the district to be invaded. With Madison's reluctant consent, Congress declared war in June, 1812.

The War on the Canadian Border. Attempts to work Clay's plan brought out its weak points. General Hull's effort to

invade Canada from Detroit ended in miserable failure and a disgraceful surrender. At Niagara a force of 6,000 undisciplined American troops was defeated by 1,000 British. Oliver Perry wiped out the sting of this defeat by a great naval victory on Lake Erie which gave the Americans the control of the lake and was the redeeming feature of the attempted invasion.[1] The next year the American forces did succeed in penetrating into Canada at Niagara, fought successfully at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, took York (now Toronto), and then were forced to fall back. Nothing was done by the Americans at the third point of attack, the Lake Champlain opening.

JAMES LAWRENCE

Captain Lawrence, of the *Chesapeake*, fought the British *Shannon*, in the early days of the war. He lost both his life and his ship, but as he was carried dying from his deck, he shouted a last command that was to become one of the most inspiring war crys of our navy, "Don't give up the ship!"

The War on the Sea. On the sea the story was different. American skippers proved the superiority of American seamanship and American gunnery again and again. Captain Hull of the Constitution captured the Guerrière, the villain ship of many an unauthorized search of American vessels. In all, three British frigates and two smaller vessels were captured, besides a great number of merchantmen. The blow to British pride was severe, and English editors found consolation in the fact that American sailors were of English blood. Unfortunately the good fortune of the first six months of war on the ocean did not hold out. The enemy had an enormous advantage in number of ships, guns, and resources. Eventually there was no American cruiser left on the sea.

[1] Perry's simple message, after his astounding victory, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," is one of the patriotic treasures of American history.

Far more effective in its results was the work of the American privateers.[1] Their activity caused an enormous loss to British merchants and created in England a strong sentiment of opposition to the war.

Great Britain on the Offensive. The abdication of Napoleon in 1814 enabled Great Britain to turn her full attention to the American war. She became the aggressor. The coast of Maine was occupied as far south as Penobscot; an unsuccessful attack was made on the Americans at Fort Erie; and an attempted British invasion by way of Lake Champlain was checked at

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE GUERRIÈRE

Plattsburg by the cooperation of the land forces and a fleet under McDonough.

A British army of 5,000 landed from the Chesapeake and marched to Washington, almost without hindrance. The President and Congress fled, and the English burned the city, excusing the deed on the ground of its being an act of reprisal for the American destruction of York. From Washington the British moved on to Baltimore, where they were beaten back and forced to retire to their ships.[2]

[1] Armed merchantmen which preyed on commerce.

[2] On this occasion, Francis Scott Key wrote the "Star Spangled Banner."

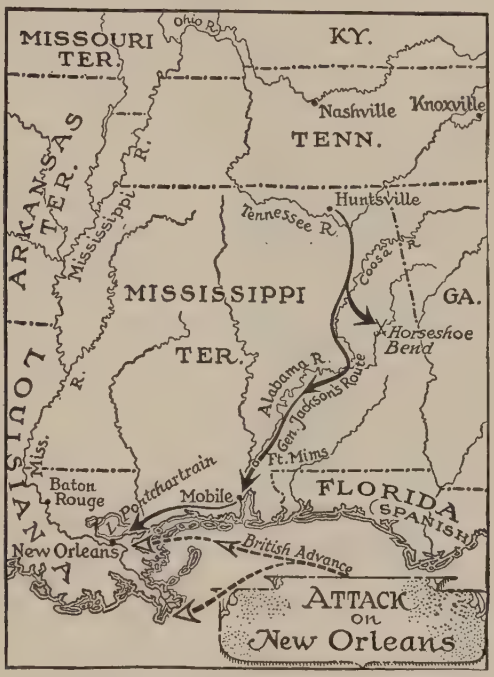
An expedition to invade the South landed at New Orleans, and was defeated by the Americans under Andrew Jackson, already the hero of several Indian wars. This was the one great land

After burning the government buildings at Washington, the British attacked Baltimore. Francis Scott Key, while a prisoner on a British gunboat, watched for the Stars and Stripes above Ft. McHenry and wrote *The Star Spangled Banner*.

victory of the war, and the fact that it occurred two weeks after the treaty of peace was signed did not seem to lessen the American pride and joy in it.

The Treaty of Peace. An offer of mediation made by Russia

three months after the war began had been accepted by the United States but rejected by Great Britain. The next year the British indicated their willingness to treat for peace directly. Madison appointed five commissioners, of whom Henry Clay,



The final British attack of the war was made against far-away Louisiana. General Andrew Jackson, after defeating the Indians at Horseshoe Bend, marched through the wilderness to New Orleans, where he won a victory that made him famous as the "Hero of New Orleans."

John Quincy Adams, and Albert Gallatin were the most important. In August, 1814, they met the British representatives at Ghent, and the long-drawn-out discussions began.

The American commissioners were in a difficult position. Although their armies had been defeated on land, their cruisers driven from the sea, and their nation divided on the question

of supporting the war, they had been instructed to make extravagant demands. The British, on the other hand, had finished the war with Napoleon, had a splendidly trained army at their disposal, were in possession of a part of the American coast, had driven the American warships from the sea, and had partially destroyed the American capital. They were in a position to *make* demands rather than to grant them. The treaty, when completed, restored to both nations their territorial limits before the war and did little else. No mention was made of the principles of law and justice for which the Americans had fought.[1] There was little apparent evidence that the struggle which had cost some 5,000 killed and wounded and thirty million dollars[2] had been of any real effect.

Commodore Perry had this flag secretly prepared at Erie previous to his valiant encounter with the British. Thus Captain Lawrence's dying words were made the signal for going into action, and became the inspiration for the victory on Lake Erie.

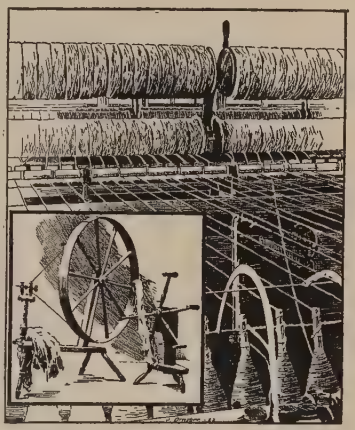
Indirect Results: Establishment of Bank. Yet there were important results. In America the financial difficulties of the period had forced the Republicans to recognize the importance of a national bank. In 1811, they had defeated the recharter of the bank established by Hamilton's efforts (see p. 223), but by 1816 they were quite ready to grant a charter for a similar institution to run for another twenty years.

Stimulation of Manufacturing. Manufacturing had been powerfully stimulated. The people of the United States throughout the colonial period had been taught to depend upon Great Britain

[1] Great Britain had no need for impressment when not at war, and never again undertook to enforce such a demand.

[2] Some authorities give much higher figures than these.

for their manufactured goods and to devote themselves exclusively to agriculture. The Embargo Act, the Non-Importation measures, and finally the war itself had cut off the source of supply, and forced the Americans to develop their own resources. Moreover, by making shipping unprofitable, the war had released a lot of capital which soon found a possibility of profit in supplying the demand for manufactured goods. Several new inventions for spinning cotton and wool and weaving them into cloth had given Great Britain almost a monopoly of this industry. These new machines were now introduced into the United States, and cotton mills were built in many parts of New England.[1]



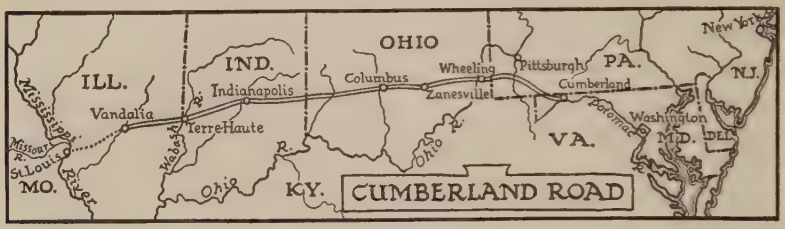
Old Style and New Style in Spinning

Adoption of Protective Tariff. When the war was over, British merchants deliberately planned to destroy these new industries. They flooded American markets with underpriced foreign goods, and by such competition seemed in a fair way to destroy the infant industries that might otherwise make this country a really independent United States. A demand for a protective tariff resulted, a demand which in 1816 received the support of Calhoun, who believed that such a measure would benefit the whole nation, and of Clay, who was later to make his belief in an "American System"[2] the corner stone of his political life. In response to this demand, Congress passed a tariff with duties designed to protect American manufacturing.

[1] The first spinning mill with machines after the English model had been opened by Samuel Slater, at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790; the first textile factory, in the modern sense, was built at Waltham, Mass., in 1814. Here was used the first power loom in America.

[2] By the "American System," Clay meant that the United States should produce all the raw and manufactured material necessary to supply every demand. This, he claimed, would make the nation absolutely independent of Europe.

Improvement of Transportation. The war had called attention to the weakness of the ties which bound the different sections of the country together. The need for better roads and for improved river transportation became very evident when supplies and men were needed at strategic points. A demand for internal improvements was the result. A national road, running from Cumberland, Maryland, to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was already under construction. Congress passed a bill giving government aid to many other projects for roads and canals; but



The Cumberland Road was begun with Federal aid about 1806 at Cumberland, Maryland, the head of navigation on the Potomac river. From this beginning it was completed, a little at a time, until it reached Vandalia, Illinois. For many years this National road was the chief route by which western settlers proceeded to their new homes.

it was vetoed by President Madison on the ground that the Constitution gave the government no authority to carry on such work.

Awakening of a National Spirit. Greater than any of these, however, was the effect on the spirit of the people. The old jealousies and suspicions which had been so marked in the period just after the Revolutionary War seemed to have disappeared; in their place was a new feeling of nationality. The flag that had waved from the masthead of Perry's ship, that had floated over a victorious *Constitution*, and under which Jackson had fought at New Orleans, had taken on a new significance.

Party differences had largely disappeared. The influence of the Federalist party had been destroyed by its attitude of persistent opposition to the war, and more especially by its share in the Hartford Convention. The Republican party, which claimed the honor of having won the respect of European nations

for the national flag, became really a "national" party, advocating such policies as a national bank, a protective tariff, and Federal aid for national roads. This period of political peace is often spoken of as the Era of Good Feeling.

James Monroe, Fifth President. James Monroe, the new President, had a winning personality and the good sense to do everything possible to overcome the old bitter party jealousies. When he appeared before the people in his Revolutionary uniform and spoke of "Our Country," they responded by thinking and saying "Our President." Monroe traveled extensively, a difficult thing in those days; and the news of "his Excellency, the President's" being welcomed with equal joy in Boston, New York, and even in Detroit and New Orleans, did wonders toward binding the people together.

His Cabinet. The President brought some strong men into his Cabinet. His Secretary of War was John C. Calhoun, the deeply loved son of South Carolina and the spokesman of the South; the Secretary of the Treasury was an able politician, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who won the praise of the great financiers of his day; while the greatest work of Monroe's administration was to be done by John Quincy Adams, of a renowned Massachusetts family, as Secretary of State.

The Florida Problem. One of the first problems of the administration arose from conditions in the peninsula of Florida. This district was divided into two parts, East Florida, over which Spanish jurisdiction was pretty generally acknowledged, and West Florida, which Jefferson and others claimed was the property of the United States.[1] The whole district was either poorly governed or not governed at all, and since it had become the home of fierce Indians, runaway slaves, and criminal whites whom the Spanish governor did not control, it was a constant source of trouble along the border.

Andrew Jackson in Florida. President Monroe sent Andrew Jackson, the "hero of New Orleans," in command of a small American force to punish some unusually vicious raids into the

[1] The claim was based on the supposition that West Florida was included in the Louisiana purchase.

United States. Jackson believed that his duty required him to follow these marauders into Spanish Florida. There he caught and punished several culprits, two of whom proved to be British subjects. Spain protested against this invasion of her territory, and Great Britain objected to the hanging of British subjects. However, neither government made any real effort to punish the raiders, and President Monroe realized that if the border settlements were to have protection, the United States must control Florida. Acquisition by purchase seemed to be the only possible solution; but Spain did not wish to part with any of her territory.

The Florida Purchase Treaty. There were two other questions of disagreement between the two nations. The United States claimed Texas as a part of the Louisiana purchase and also claimed the Pacific coast north of the 42° parallel. Spain denied both these claims. Due in large measure to the skill and determination of John Quincy Adams, a treaty was finally signed (1819) which effected a settlement.

Under the terms of the treaty, Spain agreed (1) to transfer to the United States all of Florida, both East and West; and (2) to give up all her claims to the Pacific coast north of the 42° parallel. In return the United States agreed (1) to pay Spanish debts to American citizens not to exceed five million dollars; and (2) to renounce all claim to Texas. The treaty further provided that in due time Florida should be admitted as a state.[1]

The Occasion for the Monroe Doctrine. One of the most surprising things in history is the part played in the life of a people by statements which are not laws, but merely matters of opinion. When such statements are made by great men and really reflect the attitude of the people, they are often very powerful. In President Monroe's annual message to congress in 1823, at the suggestion of John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State, he discussed the relationship of our country to the great nations of the world. There was need for such discussion, for the attitude of several European nations seemed to threaten the future development of America. Russia, for instance, was showing

[1] This was done in 1845.

marked interest in colonization, and seemed to be inclined to push her settlements down the Pacific coast into territory which the United States had come to regard as her own.

The Holy Alliance in Europe. Moreover, the spirit of democracy that had produced the French Revolution was still active in Europe, even after the defeat of Napoleon. The rulers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia had formed an association called the Holy Alliance, designed, partly at least, to help each other keep their subjects in order. But in spite of this formidable arrangement, revolutions broke out in many parts of Europe. The forces of the Holy Alliance were used to subdue disturbances in Spain and Italy. At the same time a rebellion of the Greeks against their brutal Turkish overlords caused a wave of sympathy for Greek suffering that was felt especially in England and America. Many people in the United States would have been glad to have their government take definite steps to aid the Greek revolutionists.[1]

The South American Republics. That which concerned the United States especially, however, was the situation in South America. When Napoleon was at the height of his power, he placed his brother on the Spanish throne. The Spanish colonies in America refused to recognize the usurper, and enjoyed a brief independence and the profits of free trade. After the downfall of Napoleon, the former Spanish king was restored to the throne. He foolishly prohibited free trade. One after another of his American colonies rebelled, made themselves constitutions modeled on that of the United States, and declared themselves "free and independent states."

American sympathy, and likewise her political and commercial interests, were on the side of these states in their fight for their liberties. After waiting several years, President Monroe gave formal recognition to the newly formed governments. While this did not mean that the United States would protect them from invasion, it was an evidence of her friendly interest.

In 1823, news came that the members of the Holy Alliance

[1] The Greeks won their independence with the help of England, Russia, and France in 1829.

were considering a proposal to assist Spain in recovering her lost colonies. The presence on American shores of European armies opposed to liberal government would necessarily be a matter of very serious concern to the United States.

President Monroe's Message to Congress. So in his message to Congress in December of that year, President Monroe stated the national attitude on all these questions:

JAMES MONROE, 1758–1831

James Monroe served his country worthily in many capacities. As a soldier during the Revolution, then as congressional delegate, United States senator, minister to France, governor of Virginia, associate of Livingston in the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, and as secretary of state, he earned the respect and admiration which led at last to his election as president.

"The American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for further colonization by any European power."

"In the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do."

"The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different from that of America. Any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere is dangerous to our peace and safety." Any interference on the part of European powers with the existing independent governments of the Americas "we could not view . . . in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The Monroe Doctrine, the Corner Stone of Our Foreign Policy. Whether Monroe expected to use the military forces of the United

States to prevent such unfriendly acts was not clearly stated; perhaps he purposely left that somewhat uncertain. Today there is no doubt that the United States stands ready to defend the weaker countries of the Americas with force of arms, if need arises. In 1823 it was different. Had not the whole world known that Great Britain stood ready with her fleet to aid the little power which had made the bold declaration, serious attention might not have been given to the announcement. Great Britain's trade with the South American republics had been exceedingly profitable and she had no mind to see the old Spanish monopoly restored. The British minister had suggested that a joint declaration on this subject be issued by his nation and the United States, a proposition which John Quincy Adams had rejected because he wished this nation to stand alone as the protector of the South American republics. Events justified his decision. The Holy Alliance made no attempt to find out just what the threat meant; and the Monroe Doctrine, foreshadowed by the Neutrality Proclamation, and Washington's Farewell Address, became the great corner stone of our foreign policy.

Self-Assertion Justified. The war of 1812 is sometimes spoken of as the Second War for Independence. It was fought primarily to win the freedom of the seas, but it accomplished far more than that. It did away with the old party differences based on friendship for Great Britain and friendship for France. In their place came a new spirit of nationalism, a spirit which reached a fitting climax in the more vigorous foreign policy of Monroe's administration. Never again would there be any question among the nations of the world of the right of the United States to follow her own independent course of action. The nation had proved its independence.

CHAPTER XX

THE SELF-ASSERTION OF THE WEST

I. Growth of the West — *Southworth II, pp. 116–121, 126–134*
   - A. The home of democracy
   - B. The coming of new settlers
     1. Routes of travel.
     2. Settlement made easier. (*a*) Indians defeated. (*b*) Improvement of roads. (*c*) Steamboats.
     3. The tide of migration.
   - C. New states

II. The New Sectionalism — *Hart, pp. 237–240*
   - A. The challenge of the West
     1. To the Federalism of New England.
     2. To the planter aristocracy of the South.
   - B. The election of 1824
     1. The candidates.
     2. Election by House of Representatives.
     3. The "corrupt bargain" charge.

III. New Modes of Travel — *Southworth II, pp. 135–139, 176–179*
   - A. Canals
   - B. Railroads
   - C. Attitude of government toward improvements

IV. The West Asserts Itself
   - A. Election of 1828

Problems

TOPIC

I. What conditions in pioneer life would tend to develop an independent character?

III. Explain why present-day railroad routes follow the emigrant trails.

The Development of Sectionalism. The history of the United States is the history of a growing nation. Growth involves change. Beneath the even surface of events in Monroe's administration,

forces were developing which would make a mockery of that seeming smoothness. These were the growth of sectionalism and the development of the rugged democracy of the pioneer west.

The West the Home of Democracy. Compared with England and other European countries, the laws of the seaboard colonies had been democratic indeed; but compared to the democracy of today they were decidedly aristocratic. The right to vote, in many eastern states, was limited to those who belonged to a certain church, or who possessed a certain amount of property. In the log cabin settlements of the west, however, these standards of measurement changed, and men were valued not for what they possessed, but for what they could do. Here manhood suffrage was established, based on the theory that "all men are created free and equal." James Bryce, a famous English student of American affairs, said, "The West is the most American part of America." The West, believing that "A man's a man for a' that," has always been leading the way toward the ideal of democracy, equality of opportunity for all.

Early Settlement of the West. Even before the Revolutionary War, pioneers had begun to find their way over the Appalachian mountains. These early explorers and settlers traveled chiefly on foot, either carrying on their backs or dragging on rude sleds the few tools and utensils which they needed in the wilderness. There were four principal routes across the mountain barrier. One, known as the Cumberland Gap road, and made famous by Daniel Boone, led from western Virginia into the valleys of the Cumberland and the Tennessee rivers and the blue grass region of Tennessee and Kentucky. Another followed nearly the same route later taken by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad from the Potomac river to the Ohio. A third climbed over the mountains of Pennsylvania until it reached the Ohio river at Pittsburgh, the route now followed by the Pennsylvania railroad. The fourth followed the valley of the Mohawk river through New York state, reaching Lake Erie at Buffalo, the present route of the New York Central.

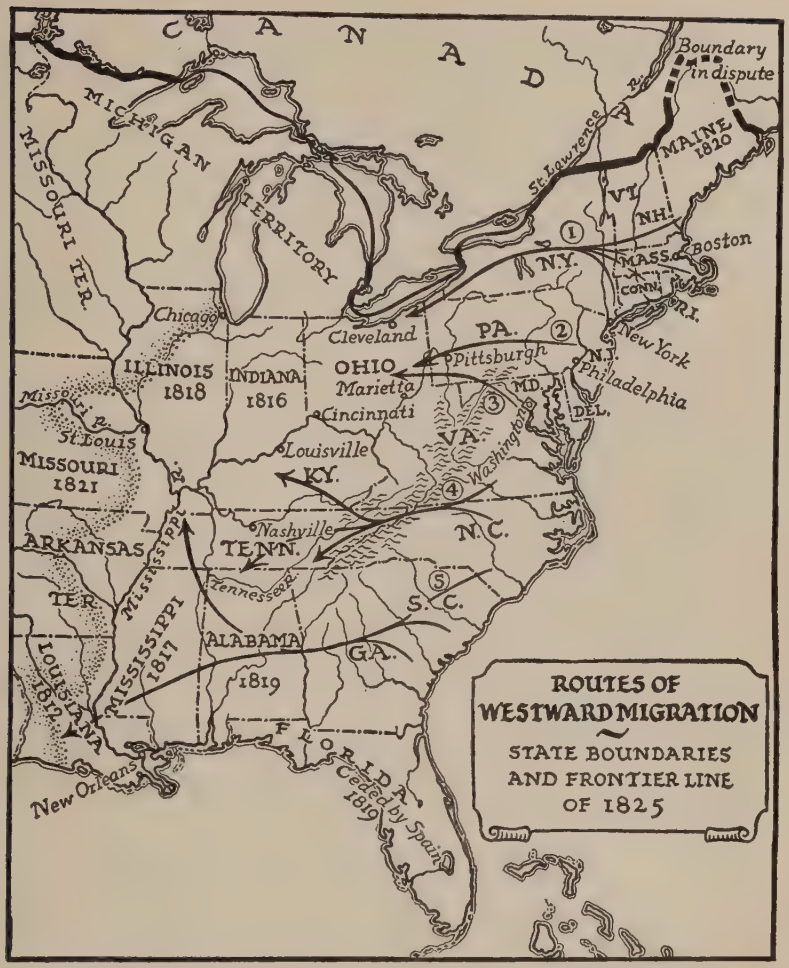
Overcoming the Handicaps. Just before the war of 1812, several of the handicaps to the development of the west were

removed. The Indians of the northwest, under the lead of the famous warrior Tecumseh, had been attempting to unite to prevent the white settlers from occupying any more land. In 1811, General William Henry Harrison defeated the Indian warriors at Tippecanoe, and not long afterward Tecumseh was killed. The fertile valleys of Indiana and Illinois were then open to settlement. The necessity for easier modes of travel between the East and the West led to the building of roads or turnpikes along the principal routes. The most important of these was the Cumberland or National Road extending westward from the Potomac. It was begun in 1811 with government aid, and by 1817 was completed as far as Wheeling on the Ohio. In the same period the first steamboats made their appearance on the Ohio river.[1] Their use increased rapidly, and travel by the river route became much easier than it had been in the days of flatboats.

Western Migration after the War of 1812. The tide of settlers began to flow westward in increasing numbers. "America seems to be breaking up and moving westward," wrote one of the travelers of 1817. Covered wagons containing the family store of bedding, utensils, and provisions journeyed in almost constant procession along the newly built highways. A tollgate keeper on a Pennsylvania turnpike counted 500 wagons with 3000 emigrants in a single month. Not only to the northwest but also to the southwest the tide moved. The greatly increased demand for cotton in England which the use of spinning and weaving machinery created, led the cotton planters of the South to seek the rich virgin fields of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The production of cotton west of the Alleghenies increased from 5,000,000 pounds in 1810 to 150,000,000 pounds in 1825.

New States Formed. The increased number of settlers soon resulted in the formation of new states. Between 1812 and 1821 six western states were added to the Union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama

[1] A boat propelled by steam had been built by John Fitch as early as 1788. The Clermont, constructed by Robert Fulton, made its first trip up the Hudson river in 1807. In 1811 the first steamboat appeared on the Ohio river.



The ten years beginning with 1812 saw a rapid development of the West. Florida was purchased. Six new Western states were admitted to the Union, and thousands of settlers moved into this fertile region west of the mountains. The principal routes by which they traveled were (1) the Mohawk valley, (2) the Pennsylvania route, (3) the Cumberland or National Road, (4) the Cumberland Gap, and (5) the Southern route.

(1819), and Missouri (1821). These with the older states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio had a population in 1820 of almost 2,500,000; and by 1830 this had increased to 3,700,000.

The Three Sections. Such a great new force as the West was becoming was sure to make itself felt in the affairs of the nation. Already in 1820, its population was greater than that of New England, the stronghold of the Federalists; and in 1830, Ohio alone had more people than Massachusetts and Connecticut together.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1767–1848

Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia had for years been governed by a comparatively small number of men, the owners of the great plantations of the tidewater district. This planter group furnished all but one of our presidents previous to 1824.

The rugged democracy of the pioneer West was growing restive under this domination by the East. In the presidential election of 1824, the forces of sectionalism and of democracy destroyed the feeling of unity which had marked Monroe's administration, and the country entered upon a period of bitter sectional strife.

The Presidential Contest of 1824. There were five principal candidates for the presidency in 1824. John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State under Monroe, was New England's choice. He was an able man, well fitted for the position; but since he believed that the office should seek the man, he would do nothing in his own behalf. The candidate of the Southern aristocracy was William H. Crawford of Georgia, the Secretary of the Treasury. He was stricken with apoplexy before the end of the campaign and was at a disadvantage because of the resulting illness. Another Southerner, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, withdrew from the race and accepted the nomination for Vice-President instead. There were two Western candidates, Henry

Clay of Kentucky, one of the most persuasive orators of the time and speaker of the House of Representatives; and Andrew Jackson, the popular "hero of New Orleans." The campaign was a bitter one, and when the votes were counted, no one had a majority.

Election by the House of Representatives. The Constitution provides that in such an event, the House of Representatives shall choose a president from among the three candidates receiving the highest number of votes (**134**). These three were Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. The election in the House of Representatives depended very largely on which candidate Clay and his followers decided to support.

Clay firmly believed that Adams with his education and experience would make a much better president than Jackson. Naturally enough, therefore, he helped to elect Adams. The Jackson followers were furiously angry because they believed that their candidate should have been chosen since he had the largest number of electoral votes. Later, when Adams named Clay as his Secretary of State, they raised the cry of a "corrupt bargain" to account for the appointment. Those who knew the character of Adams knew that there had been no "bargain" of any kind. But the followers of Jackson believed this charge, and therefore they opposed the President's measures in Congress to such an extent that it was impossible for Adams to accomplish much during his term of office. Instead they turned the whole four years into a campaign to elect their favorite in 1828.

The Erie Canal. The continued development of the West made it imperative that easier methods of travel and of freight transportation should be provided. In 1825, the Erie Canal, 360 miles long, from Albany on the Hudson to Buffalo on Lake Erie, was completed. Governor DeWitt Clinton traveled the whole length of the canal and down the Hudson to New York City, where two kegs of water from Lake Erie were emptied into the harbor to commemorate the opening of navigation between the Great Lakes and the seaboard. The opening of the Erie Canal produced remarkable results. In its first year 19,000 boats and rafts loaded with wheat, lumber, furs, and

other products from the west moved over its waters to the Hudson. Before the canal had been built it cost $100 or more to carry a ton of flour from Albany to Buffalo; by the canal route the cost was soon reduced to $10. New York City soon became the greatest seaport in the country.

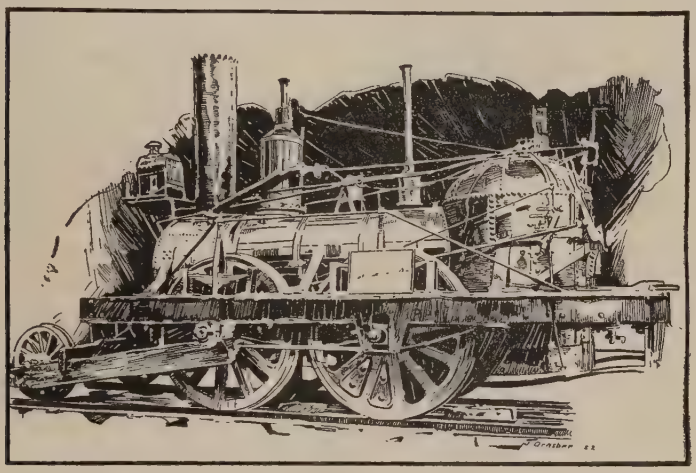
The First Railroad. The success of the Erie canal led to a fever of canal building in all parts of the United States. By 1830, 1400 miles of artificial waterways had been completed, and 2000 more miles were in process of construction. Some

Erie Canal at Lockport
(Shows locks from above)

of these were fairly successful; others would have succeeded but for the rapid development of another means of communication. The citizens of Baltimore, finding that a canal route westward was not feasible, began to experiment with a new English invention, the railroad. In 1830, an American built engine, the Tom Thumb, drew a train of cars over the first twelve miles of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. In time the railroad reached the Ohio at Wheeling. Spurred on by the enterprise of these Marylanders, many other communities took up the task of building railroads. By 1840 there were nearly 3000 miles of

railways in the United States. It was only a question of a few years until these bands of steel should conquer the Appalachian barrier. Today with our present methods of transportation we scarcely know that such a barrier exists.

Sectional Jealousies and Internal Improvements. During these years when better roads and canals were receiving so much attention, it was natural that the national government should become interested. Henry Clay, voicing the opinion of the western representatives, was urgent that the Federal government should construct the roads and canals which were needed for



THE OLDEST LOCOMOTIVE IN THE UNITED STATES
Built by Stephenson

the development of the country. Congress in former years had passed several bills appropriating money for this purpose, but they had been vetoed by both Madison and Monroe, who believed that the Constitution did not permit such action by the Federal government. With Adams as President, the friends of national aid for internal improvements felt that they need have no fear of a veto, for his sympathy with such a policy was well known. The bitter sectional jealousies developed by the election of 1824, however, led Congressmen to oppose any measures favored by

Adams and Clay, and although several bills were introduced and even passed, nothing worth while was accomplished.[1]

The Success of Western Democracy. In fact, so bitter became the political fight between the followers and the opponents of Jackson that all other issues were practically forgotten. Every question which came up in Congress, — foreign affairs, the tariff, internal improvements, — soon developed into a sectional question involving New England, the South, and the West. In 1825, the legislature of Tennessee nominated Jackson for the presidency and a three-year campaign was waged to elect the popular military hero of the West. The Republican party was split into two factions, the National Republicans (afterward the Whigs) who supported Adams, and the Democratic Republicans (afterward known as Democrats) who favored Jackson. In the election of 1828, every electoral vote from the country south of the Potomac and west of the Alleghenies went to Andrew Jackson. The democratic West, combined with the democratic elements of the Southern states, had asserted itself and won the presidency.

When Railroads Were Young
A railroad scene near Little Falls, New York

[1] Considerable sums of money were appropriated, but these were spent in a haphazard way and accomplished little real good.

CHAPTER XXI

THE TRIUMPH OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

I. The Election an Indication of Change

A. Former presidents represented a different type

B. Feeling of the west

II. The Spoils System *Fite, pp. 268–269*

A. Former uses

1. In the nation.
2. In the states.

B. Defense

C. Results

III. Tariff Measures *Fite, pp. 270–273*

A. Sectional attitude of tariff

1. Of the North. (*a*) Reason for change.
2. Of the South. (*a*) Reason for change.
3. Of the West. (*a*) Tariff interests. (*b*) Reason for importance.

B. Tariff of 1828

1. Reason for Southern activity.
2. Northern action.
3. The South Carolina Exposition. (*a*) Webster-Hayne debate.

C. Tariff of 1832

1. Combination of interests.
2. South Carolina's nullification. (*a*) Jackson's attitude.

D. The compromise tariff

1. Immediate effect.
2. Historical effect.

IV. The Administration and the Bank

A. History of the bank

B. Enemies of the bank

1. State banks.
2. Political opponents.
3. Western borrowers.

C. Jackson's attitude

1. Personal feeling as a western man.
2. The veto message.

D. The removal of deposits
1. Purpose and method.
2. Attitude of the different secretaries of the treasury.
3. "Pet Banks." (*a*) Relation to later panic.

V. Jackson's Services as President

A. Increased power of the executive department

B. Use made of Cabinet members
1. The "Kitchen Cabinet."

C. The President a party leader

VI. Van Buren as President *Poems, p. 353*

A. The panic of 1837

B. The Sub-treasury Measure

C. Growth of political parties
1. Election of 1840.

VII. The Harrison and Tyler Administration

A. Death of the President

B. Weakness of Tyler

Problems

TOPIC

III. What is the difference between tariff for revenue, tariff for protection, and tariff for revenue with incidental protection?

IV. Give a list of reasons for a western farmer's needing to borrow money in pioneer days.

Exercise: Construct a diagram of the appropriate number of blocks, each one-half inch square, to represent the states, with a rectangle to represent the nation. Show by their relative position what Hayne thought was the relationship of the state to the nation: what Webster thought was the relationship.

Special Report: Life of Andrew Jackson (see page 565)

The Triumph of the West. With the election of Jackson the government seemed "to turn a corner." Preceding presidents had been Eastern men whose education and culture made them more truly representative of the older sections. Jackson was a real Westerner and his followers felt that his triumph was theirs, and that with such a man as captain of the *Ship of State*, the welfare of the West would be in safe hands. They flocked to the capital for the inauguration and quite scandalized the select

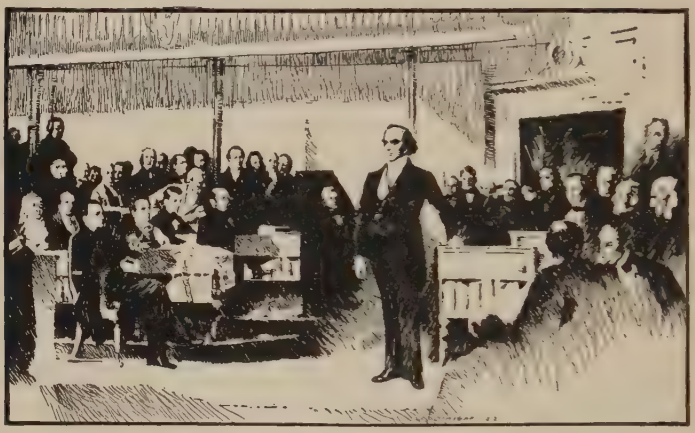
society of Washington by their mad joy in the *triumph of democracy.*

The "Spoils System" in Politics. The attention of the new President was first given to the matter of appointments. Jefferson's election had marked the coming of a new party to power, and had been followed by the dismissal from office of a small number of Federalist officeholders. Other presidents had followed this precedent, but Jackson inaugurated a wholesale house cleaning, a custom that had been perfected in some of the states, but was now for the first time transferred to the national government. Various reasons were seriously set forth to defend this "Spoils System," such as: "Long continuance in office tends to make a man careless"; "Any American citizen is capable of holding any office"; and "To the victors belong the spoils." Sensible men advanced and believed such arguments, for they were thinking of public office-holding as a reward for political activity and not as a public business requiring expert service. Incapable and even dishonest men were given office, and the country suffered accordingly.

The Tariff Question. Tariff problems loomed large in public importance. The protective duties of 1816 had been increased in 1824 because the effects of protection had won for it new Northern friends. Manufacturing had outdistanced commerce as the important industry in the region of rapid rivers and many water falls. A demand took shape for more protection; a demand in which the new West took part, though for a different reason. It was to her interest that the raw materials which she produced, and which were necessary for manufacturing, should be protected. The South was the only section that could not profit from a protective tariff. Cotton and tobacco, her chief products, must be exported to bring a return. The ships that carried her goods to European markets could find no profit unless they returned with merchandise to sell. There must be trade if she were to dispose of her products. A high import duty would not only react on exports and so reduce the income of the South, but at the same time it would increase the prices on the goods she had to buy. In 1816 the South had upheld a protective tariff,

as a temporary measure, for the national good. As the tendency to make it a permanent policy became clear, self-interest demanded that she turn against it.

The West and the Balance of Power. The West was carefully courted by both North and South. She held the balance of power. Combined with her, either section had enough votes in Congress to control any situation. In 1828 it was apparent that a new tariff measure would be passed. Southern members proposed combining with the West in a tariff measure so unrea-



Webster Replying to Hayne

Copied from a famous painting in Faneuil Hall, Boston

sonable that it is known as the "Tariff of Abominations." This bill provided for very high duties on raw materials produced by the West, such as hides and wool. If passed, it would work hardship on the manufacturing North as well as the agricultural South and confer a selfish benefit on the West only. For this reason it was believed that the North would defeat it; and the West, angered by this, might combine with the South to secure a tariff measure more satisfactory to the latter section.

A Question of the Supremacy of the Union. Although the proposed bill was heartily condemned in the North and many vain attempts were made to amend it, when the final vote came,

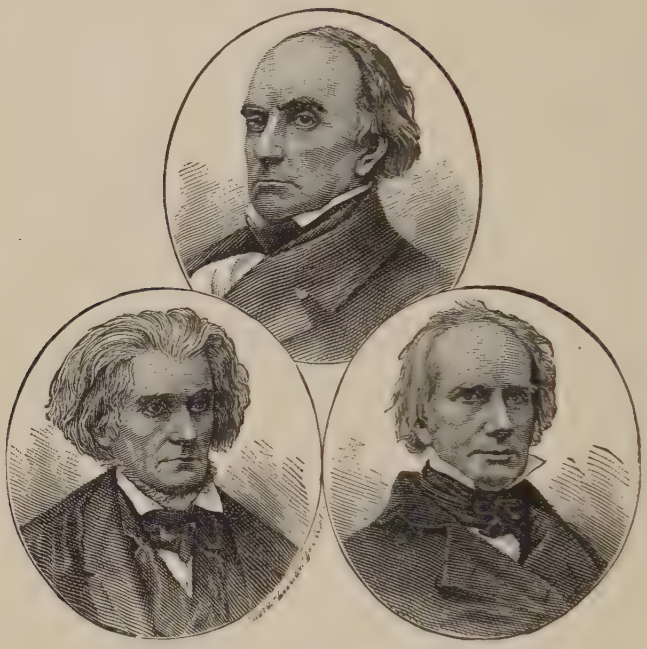
Northern Congressmen felt bound to support it because of their continual agitation for protection. To the horror of the South the measure passed. She felt she was in grave danger of bankruptcy. In a famous document known as the South Carolina Exposition, John C. Calhoun advocated the right of a state, in defense of its life and property, to declare null and void a law of the national government. In Congress, in connection with an entirely different subject, there occurred the famous Webster-Hayne debate, in which Hayne of South Carolina put forward the argument that the national government, having been created by the states, had only those powers which the states had given it, and that the states and not the national government were the judges of the extent of these powers. Webster replied in a wonderful oration defending the sovereign power of the national government, as defined in the Constitution and granted by the whole people. The people might limit or alter this power through amendments if they wished, but aside from that, the national government was supreme. Otherwise, the union was nothing but a "rope of sand," he said. The debate drew the attention of the whole country, and the two interpretations of the Constitution became popular subjects for discussion.

Nullification by South Carolina. In 1832 the representatives of the North and the West combined to present a new tariff more satisfactory to the former. In spite of all the South could do, it passed. South Carolina responded by an ordinance of nullification, forbidding the collection of the obnoxious duties within her borders.

Attention was centered on Jackson. If South Carolina were permitted to carry out the threatening ordinance, the result could only be disunion. The spirit of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and of the Hartford Convention was to be put to the test. For a third time a state had challenged the Federal government, and it seemed as if this time the Federal government must answer.

Jackson's Position Made Clear. The President had been reported to favor states' rights. At a famous political banquet in honor of Jefferson's birthday, it was determined to find out

Jackson's real sentiments. Several of the speeches hinted at an approval of nullification and whatever might follow it, but when it came the President's turn to give a toast he startled his audience with "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved!"



DANIEL WEBSTER
1782–1852

JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782–1850

HENRY CLAY
1777–1852

NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE NEW ERA

Nor was Jackson satisfied with words. He asked for, and obtained permission from Congress to collect the tariff duties by force, if necessary, and it seemed fairly certain that the spirit of the "hero of New Orleans" was as loyal as ever to the Federal union. South Carolina prepared for armed resistance.

The Compromise Tariff of 1833. Before actual warfare could begin, Congress, inspired by Henry Clay, passed a compromise

tariff measure providing for a gradual reduction of the rates over a ten-year period. South Carolina graciously accepted this concession and permitted the collection of the duties. Her repeal of the ordinance of nullification, however, did not indicate the surrender of her right to pass such a law, and the question of a state's right to defy a law of Congress was still a matter to be settled.

The National Bank's Struggle for Recharter. The leading question of the closing years of Jackson's first administration and the great issue of his reelection was the proposed recharter of the national bank. Chartered in 1816, for a twenty-year period, it had not been well managed during the first years of its existence. Later, under more capable direction, it had become a very sound financial institution with branches in every state. Nevertheless, it had many enemies. The state banks disliked it because its size and power enabled it to offer serious competition. The political party which supported Jackson distrusted it, for the leading bank officials were members of the opposing party, and were accused of using the resources of the bank for political purposes. The western farmers hated it because the bank had found it necessary to foreclose the mortgages on their land when they were unable to meet the payments on their loans. Jackson, as the representative of the West, might be expected to reflect this feeling, and from the time of his first message to Congress, there were indications that his attitude was unfriendly.

"Bank-Oh's Ghost"
A cartoon of Jackson's Bank Policy

The Veto. The bank officials did everything possible to win his friendship, and for a time seemed to have done so. Just before the election of 1832, a bill for the recharter of the bank was introduced into Congress, passed both Houses, and came to the President for his signature. Jackson vetoed it, and in his veto message announced as his reasons that the bank was a monopoly

and that it was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court had previously decided that the government had a constitutional right to establish a bank;[1] but by the position taken in his veto message, Jackson set the executive branch of the government above the judicial. That the people approved was indicated the following November when Jackson was reelected president by a large majority.

The Removal of Deposits. Nor did the President's "War on the Bank" end here. Under its old charter, the bank still had three years to run. Instead of waiting for its peaceful dissolution, Jackson ordered his Secretary of the Treasury to stop depositing the incoming government funds in the bank and to continue to draw checks on it for current expenses, in this way drawing out all the government deposits. The Secretary of the Treasury refused, on the ground that he had no right to carry out such an order. He was transferred to another position, but his successor in the office also refused. He in turn was succeeded by Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, who carried out Jackson's order. Taney was later appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1835), as the successor of John Marshall.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1782–1862

Martin Van Buren was a shrewd and able politician and a political power in his own state, New York, before he became active in national politics. He served as a United States senator, as secretary of state, and as vice-president, before his election to the presidency.

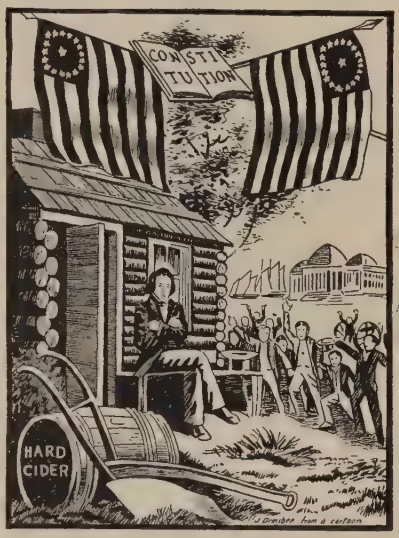
"Pet Banks." The government money was now deposited in various state banks, and as the president of a bank that secured national deposits was usually a good Jackson supporter, these banks in time came to be known as "pet banks."

In many cases they were not well managed. The officials overestimated the value of the capital under their control,

[1] This was one of Chief Justice Marshall's famous decisions.

issued paper promises to pay which were used as money, and for a while seemed quite prosperous. It was not until the following administration that this artificial prosperity gave way. In 1837 came a financial panic, and Van Buren, the next President, had the trying experience of reaping the whirlwind of financial disorder which Jackson's administration had sown.

Jackson's Effect on the Power of the Presidency. The makers of our Constitution had tried to create a government of balanced powers. In the earlier days of our history they did not seem to have succeeded. The legislative branch was the strongest. The other two departments of the government became its equals because of the power and personality of two men. What John Marshall did for the Judiciary, Andrew Jackson did for the Executive. In his hands the Presidency was a power. He acknowledged no authority and accepted no advice, except when it happened to suit him. Even his cabinet members were little better than chief clerks of administrative departments; and a little group of friends whom the President did consult on important affairs of government were ridiculed as the "Kitchen Cabinet."



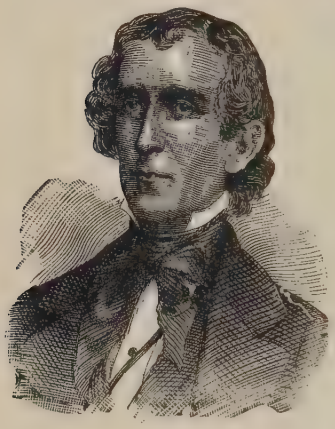
THE LOG CABIN CANDIDATE

A cartoon that became very popular during the "hard cider campaigns"

Martin Van Buren the Eighth President. Jackson was enough of a party chief to select his own successor. He chose Martin Van Buren, a close personal and political friend. So smooth and polished was this New York politician that he was popularly known as "The Little Magician." Van Buren's term of office was not a happy one. He was unjustly blamed for the financial

panic, and when he wisely permitted it to run its course, refusing to adopt any of the wild schemes proposed for checking it, he was even more severely blamed. The years have shown the wisdom of his sub-treasury measure, which provided for government deposit stations for government money, but the people of his own time did not appreciate the plan.

Triumph of the Whig Party. The opponents of Jackson, during what they had contemptuously called the "Reign of King Andrew," had perfected the organization of the political party which took the name "Whig," because the English party of opposition to the king was so named. At the close of Van Buren's administration the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison for the presidency. He was a war hero, having been the commander at the battle of Tippecanoe. He was a man of the people, and during the campaign his party boasted of his connection with a "log cabin and hard cider." Indeed he out-democrated the Democrats, whose candidate, Van Buren, was by contrast a very polished person. Harrison's election was another proof of the growing power of the West with its ideals of actual equality.



JOHN TYLER, 1790–1862

A Virginian by birth, John Tyler always remained loyal to his section. He had served in congress before his election to the vice-presidency. The death of William Henry Harrison elevated Tyler to the presidency in 1841.

Vice-President Tyler Becomes President. Harrison lived only a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, John Tyler of Virginia. Like many of the presidential running mates, Tyler had been selected because it was thought he would win the votes of his section. He was more of a Democrat than a Whig, and when Congress passed a bill to charter another national bank, Tyler vetoed the measure. In protest,

every member of his Cabinet, except Daniel Webster, resigned. Webster held his position as Secretary of State in order to complete a treaty with Great Britain which settled some boundary disputes between the United States and Canada. After this episode, the Whig leaders in Congress and President Tyler found it impossible to agree, and his administration accomplished little.

CHAPTER XXII

THE STORY OF SLAVERY

I. Introduction and Early Growth

- A. Conditions which created a demand for labor
- B. Early attempts to supply the demand
  1. Indentured servants.
  2. Indians.
  3. First negro slaves.
- C. Spread of slavery in different sections

II. Early Objections to Slavery

- A. From the Quakers
- B. From leading slave owners
- C. Legislative measures
  1. Of individual states.
  2. The Ordinance of 1787.

III. Slavery Gains Support

- A. Constitutional recognition
- B. The invention of the cotton gin
  1. Effect on production.
  2. On slavery.
  3. Extension of territory.

IV. Slavery Becomes a National Issue — *Fite, pp. 252–254*

- A. Settlement of Missouri
- B. The "balance of power" in Congress
- C. The Missouri Compromise

V. The Rise of the Abolition Movement — *Hart, p. 242*

- A. A world-wide movement — *Fite, pp. 288–291*
  1. Example of South America.
  2. Of Great Britain.
- B. The American Abolitionists
  1. The moderate branch.
  2. The extreme branch. (*a*) William Lloyd Garrison. (*b*) Demands.
- C. The slave insurrection
  1. Real meaning.
  2. Southern attitude.
  3. Northern attitude. (*a*) Toward abolition. (*b*) Toward extension of slavery.

D. The "Gag" Rule
   1. The shower of petitions.
   2. The resolution. (*a*) Effect on the "Right of Petition."
   3. Ex-President Adams's struggle against the "Gag" Rule.

VI. The Rise of "King Cotton" *Hart, p. 244*

A. Increased world demand for cotton
B. Increased number of slaves
C. Southerners begin to justify slavery
D. Growing differences between the sections

Problems

TOPIC

III. If Eli Whitney had never invented the cotton gin, would the South have grown to depend on slavery?

Exercise: Construct two figures of blocks 1″ x ½″ each, to represent the free and the slave states. Indicate by shading the original states, and place the blocks named for the states admitted after the adoption of the Constitution in such a position that you will show which pairs were balanced.

Exercise: If a 1″ square is used to represent the number of pounds of cotton exported in 1791, construct a figure using such squares to represent (approximately) the total exportation in 1800; in 1860; in 1880; in 1900.

Special Topic: Eli Whitney (see page 560)

The Introduction of Negro Slavery. Negro slavery, which had already existed in the Spanish colonies for a century, was introduced into Virginia in 1619. In a new country with boundless opportunities, ambitious men preferred to make a start for themselves rather than work for other men. Hired labor was therefore very scarce. Land without men to till it was valueless and the number of white bond servants was never equal to the demand. Attempts to compel Indians to work for white men were unsuccessful. So it came about that when a Dutch ship arrived in Jamestown in 1619 with a cargo of twenty negroes, the planters of Virginia purchased them readily. From that time on there was negro slavery in the colonies. At first the number of slaves increased very slowly, but in later years many other ships from Great Britain, New England, and other places brought cargo after cargo of Africans across the seas until slaves and slaveholders were to be found in every colony.

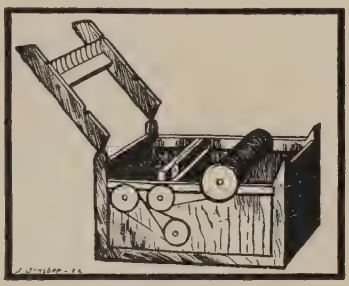
Slavery in the North and in the South. In the northern colonies the negroes did not make profitable field hands. They were used chiefly as house servants and the number of them was never large. On the tobacco plantations of Maryland and Virginia slaves proved more profitable and gradually came to be almost the only available labor. As a rule these negroes were well-treated, had comfortable dwellings, good food, and were better off in many ways than in their native haunts in Africa. It was in the rice fields and on the plantations farther south, where the hot, damp climate made it almost impossible for white men to live, that the condition of the negroes became intolerable.

Colonial Anti-Slavery Measures. While it is true that all the colonial legislatures recognized slavery as legal and the majority of our colonial forefathers were indifferent on the subject of slavery, nevertheless objections began to be heard from a few individuals almost from the time of its introduction. This was especially true of the Pennsylvania Quakers who understood the Bible to teach that "no man shall hold his brother in bondage." Their anti-slavery apostle, John Woolman, made it his life work to go about the country preaching against slavery. Individual slave owners, George Washington among them, set their slaves free by will. Several colonies made efforts to limit the importation of slaves, but British merchants and the king desired the slave trade to continue. Consequently little was done to check its growth until the Revolution. Vermont (1777) and Massachusetts (1780) adopted constitutions abolishing slavery, while Pennsylvania (1780) adopted a gradual emancipation law.[1] Thomas Jefferson, himself a slave owner, proposed gradual emancipation in all the western territories. Only one member of Congress voted against the Ordinance of 1787 which forever prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. The people as a whole were coming to feel that slavery was an evil which must not spread.

Slavery in the Constitution. However, in deference to South-

[1] Under a gradual emancipation plan, all slaves born after a certain date were to be free from birth, all who became twenty-one after that date were to be free from their twenty-first birthday, while those who were past twenty-one at the time specified should remain slaves all their lives.

ern demands, there were several compromises in the Constitution which gave practical recognition and protection to slavery.[1] Even so it had not yet become an issue of supreme importance. Slavery had never been profitable in the North, and had been accepted in the South because it seemed the easiest solution of the labor problem. Cotton, the product which the South later came to believe could be raised only with slave labor, was not yet grown to any extent. So general was the idea that this was not a cotton-producing country, that in the Jay treaty with England (1795) cotton was mentioned as one of the articles which the United States would not export.



THE FIRST COTTON-GIN

This simple little box-like model was destined to change the condition of a great section, and to a certain extent the destiny of a great nation. Judge Johnson of South Carolina, a member of the United States Supreme Court, said of it:

"The whole interior of the southern states was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine opened views to them which set the whole country in active motion."

Effect of the Invention of the Cotton Gin. Then in 1792 there came an invention which changed the whole course of history. Eli Whitney, a keen-witted Connecticut Yankee, during a stay in the South, had his attention called to the difficult task of freeing the cotton fiber from the seeds; and after some study he developed the first cotton gin. So slow and difficult had been the process by hand that a skillful negro could clean only one or two pounds of cotton in a day, and it would take one person two years to turn out an average bale of cotton. The cotton gin changed all that. Today a perfected machine will produce three to fifteen bales in a single day.

This new, cheap, and rapid process of getting rid of the troublesome seeds speedily made cotton the cheapest material in the

[1] Importation of slaves until 1808 permitted (**61**), Three-fifths Compromise (**8**), A Fugitive Slave Law (**107**).

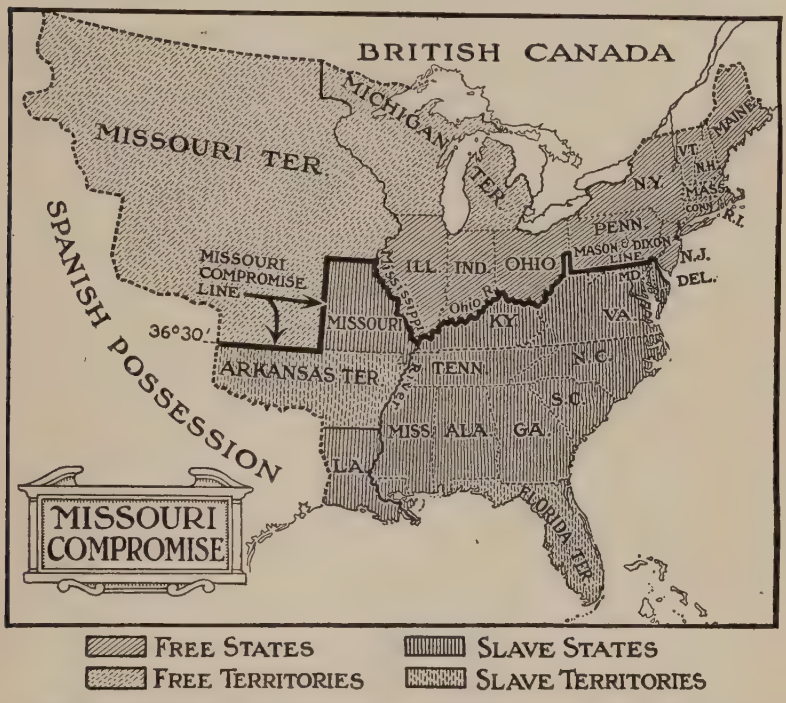
world for clothing.[1] The demand for it increased enormously, and the Southern planter, in order to meet the demand, needed more land and all the labor which could be secured. Soon the question of slavery in the South took on a new phase. Cotton became the chief product of the southern states, to grow cotton the planter must have labor, and slaves seemed the natural, and to many, the only solution of the problem. In the cotton states there was no longer any talk of freeing the slaves. Instead, the desire for more land on which to raise cotton led to a demand for "more territory and slave property protected in that territory."

The Union Divided on the Slavery Question. So gradually did this change in the attitude of the South come about that it was hardly noticeable until 1820. The Mason and Dixon line (the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland) and the Ohio river west of that had become the accepted boundary between the free and slave zones, and there was a general expectation that this line would be continued across the newly acquired territory of the Louisiana Purchase. Louisiana had been admitted as a slave state in 1812 without a suggestion of protest from the North. Alabama and Mississippi had likewise been organized as territories open to slavery and had come into the Union. Even the enormous acreage of these great states failed to satisfy the demand for new and cheap land on which to grow cotton, and many Southern planters followed up the broad highway of the Mississippi into the valley of the Missouri. Naturally they brought their slaves with them. Numbers increased rapidly until the population of Missouri territory reached 60,000, of whom 10,000 were slaves.

The Missouri Compromise. Thereupon the people of Missouri formed a constitution and in 1819 came before Congress asking for admission as a slave state. There were at that time twenty-two states, eleven slave and eleven free. In the Senate the representation was therefore equal, but in the House of Representatives the free states had the greater voting strength because

[1] The new spinning and weaving machinery which was already in use in England was an important factor in developing the demand for cotton.

their population, increased by immigration from Europe,[1] was larger. The consent of both Houses was necessary, of course, before Missouri could be admitted. The House of Representatives opposed her admission as a slave state, while the Senate



After 1820, the Mason and Dixon line, the Ohio river, and the new Missouri Compromise line divided the entire territory of the nation into two sections. Slavery was legal in one, and barred from the other. When additional territory was acquired, the question of slavery again became perplexing.

was opposed to her coming in as a free state. So the matter stood deadlocked. But when Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, of which she had been a part, applied for admission as a free state, there seemed to be a possible solution, and the Com-

[1] Free labor could not be induced to go into the slave states because of the feeling there toward "poor whites." Consequently the North received almost the entire increase in population due to immigration.

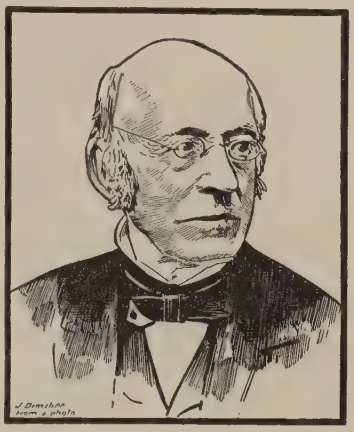
promise of 1820 was agreed upon. This provided (1) that Maine be admitted as a free state; (2) that Missouri be admitted as a slave state; and (3) that in all the rest of the territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of the line of 36° 30′ (the southern boundary of Missouri) slavery should be forever prohibited.

The Slavery Discussion Hushed. For the next ten years slavery was scarcely mentioned in national politics. The majority of Americans were genuinely anxious to forget it, for even then its possibilities for harm to the Union could be seen. But still there were some whom even this danger could not silence. The Quakers did not cease their opposition to slavery, and Benjamin Lundy traveled endless weary miles to preach the real brotherhood of man and the wrong of slavery.

The Abolition Movement World-wide. At the same time men of other nations were experiencing the same feeling. Slavery was abolished by most of the South American countries between 1821 and 1830. The British Parliament passed an act in 1833 to end slavery in the British colonies. The French government did likewise in 1848. A country whose government was based on the ideal that "all men are created equal" could not but feel this world-wide influence. In the United States a group of people called Abolitionists began to demand the emancipation of all the slaves.

William Lloyd Garrison. Some of the more moderate Abolitionists such as Lundy and James G. Birney, a former slaveholder, proposed gradual emancipation and various methods of paying the slaveowners for their property. Others were more radical, and demanded the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery without any payment to the owners. Among these was William Lloyd Garrison, a young compositor in a printing office, who had been won to the cause of abolition by Lundy. Garrison borrowed money and set up his own press in Boston, from which on New Year's Day, 1831, he issued the first number of "The Liberator." He was a stern, unyielding man, who saw only one truth, that slavery was sin. On this subject he wrote, "I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm. Tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which

it has fallen — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present." He was so earnest that people had to listen. Whittier became a convert, and other American poets and writers joined the movement. Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher, both famous orators, preached its doctrines, and the Abolition Society, though small, came to include many of the best men of the time.



William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879

Garrison was first apprenticed to learn the shoemaker's trade, but he chose the printer's instead. While a very young man he became an abolitionist, and consecrated his life to the winning of freedom for the slaves. He established the *Liberator*, and although at first he had neither money nor subscribers, the paper grew and became one of the most powerful agents of the anti-slavery cause. As a result of his great devotion and final success, Garrison himself was sometimes called the "The Liberator."

The South Aroused. In the late summer of that year (1831) there occurred a horrible massacre by slaves of over sixty white people in Southampton County, Virginia. Many of the victims were women and children. This was known as Nat Turner's Insurrection, from the slave preacher who led it. A panic of fear seized the Southerners lest such uprisings should become common. They placed the blame for the dreadful deed on the influence of "The Liberator" and other abolitionist literature. Not only did the people of the slave states discontinue all talk of freeing their slaves, but they demanded that Congress and the Northern states should silence all anti-slavery agitation by strict laws. Even in the North a majority of the business and professional men were bitterly opposed to such abolitionists as Garrison. At one time an enraged mob dragged Garrison himself through the streets of Boston, with a rope around his body. The police rescued him, and he was lodged in jail for safety. In Alton,

Illinois, an anti-abolitionist mob killed Elijah Lovejoy, the editor of an anti-slavery paper, and destroyed his printing presses. A large and increasing number of Northern men were opposed to the extension of slavery, while the number of actual abolitionists was very small.

Picking Cotton by Hand Power

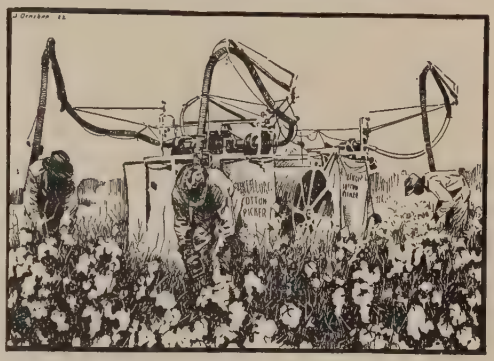
The great problem of cotton growing is cotton picking. The grower is limited in his acreage by the amount of picking he can get done, and to do it successfully it must be done by hand. Such work requires only unskilled labor, but since an average daily yield for one worker is one hundred pounds, it requires an enormous number of workmen to harvest the cotton crop.

The Gag Rule. A favorite method of the extremists was to send petitions to Congress demanding the abolition of slavery in the territories, in the District of Columbia, and even in the Southern states themselves. The friends of slavery looked upon these petitions as insulting and in 1836 succeeded in getting the House of Representatives to adopt a rule that all petitions relating in any way to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery "should be laid upon the table," and no further action taken. This meant that they should be thrown into the waste basket unread. To many this "gag resolution," as it was called, seemed a direct violation of the right of petition guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States (**121**). Ex-President John Quincy Adams, then a member of Congress, devoted himself to securing a repeal of the "gag resolution." After an eight-year fight he was successful, in 1844.

Importance of Cotton Production. Meanwhile cotton production was becoming the supreme interest of the South. Cotton seemed to furnish the golden key to boundless prosperity. English mills across the sea and American mills in the Northern states hummed with the task of making useful for man the product of

the Southern cotton fields. The yield of these fields mounted rapidly [1] and still the demand was not met. The more the world called for cotton, and the more its increased production enriched the planters, the more they came to feel and say, "Cotton is King."

Slavery Believed to be the Basis of Southern Prosperity. And always when they said it, there was another thought, as honest and as earnest as the first, "Slavery is the corner stone of the Cotton Kingdom." That belief stifled the stirring Southern sentiment against slavery. Increased cotton production called for more slaves. Their number grew rapidly,[2] and their value was multiplied. In the older states of the South, slaveowners began to raise negroes to sell in the newer states, and a large trade in slaves grew up. Many negroes were also smuggled into the Southern states either directly from Africa or by way of the West Indies.



COTTON PICKING BY MACHINE

The cotton picking machine now in use is far from perfect. Cotton bolls do not all ripen at the same time, and the machine used at present injures the plant so that the undeveloped bolls do not mature. An improvement which would overcome this difficulty would make a tremendous change in the whole cotton growing industry.

Two-thirds of the white people of the South had no connection with slavery; but the large slaveowners were very influential.

[1] Exportation of cotton — (1747) 8 bags to England
(1770) 2000 lbs.
(1791) 189,315 lbs.
(1800) 17,789,803 lbs.
(1860) 1,920,000,000 lbs.
(1880) 3,178,000,000 lbs.
(1900) 5,133,000,000 lbs.

[2] The number of slaves in 1790 was about 700,000; in 1830, about 2,000,000; and in 1860, about 7,000,000.

With them a new way of thinking came into fashion, — a way which led John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's great statesman, to declare that slavery, far from being an evil was a good, a "perfect good," and the only possible relation that could exist between the white race and the black. "There cannot be a durable republic without slavery," he said, and declared that the lot of the Southern slave was better than that of the factory laborers of the North, and that discontented workmen would be more dangerous to the country than peaceful slaves. Other leaders were more frank and expressed the issue in terms of dollars and cents. "Do you imagine," said one, "that you can prevail on us to give up a thousand million of dollars in the value of our slaves, and a thousand million more in the depreciation of our land?"

Divided Sentiment of the Nation. The black thread which had found its way into the fabric of our nation's history in 1619 was rapidly becoming the chief figure in the pattern. The tiny flame of anti-slavery sentiment in the North was being fanned into an increasing opposition to the extension of slavery; while the Cotton Kingdom of the South was coming to believe that its very existence depended upon two things: more room for cotton growing, and protection for slave property.

CHAPTER XXIII

WESTWARD TO THE PACIFIC

I. The South Needs More Land

A. Reason for this need

B. How it could be satisfied

II. The Story of Texas *Fite, pp. 297–299*

A. Ownership
1. Spanish.
2. The claim of the United States.
3. Mexican.

B. American settlers in Texas
1. Invited by Mexican government.
2. Mexican fear of Americans. (*a*) Due to increasing numbers.
3. Santa Anna's dictatorship.
4. The Texan war for independence.

III. The Story of Oregon *Poems, p. 342*

A. Conflicting claims *Fite, pp. 300, 301*
1. Spanish.
2. Russian.
3. English. *Hart, p. 268*
4. American.

B. How these claims were settled
1. Florida Purchase.
2. Treaty of 1824 with Russia.
3. Treaty of Joint Occupation.
4. American settlements.

IV. Polk's Campaign for President

A. The issue of the campaign
1. The slogan.

B. How the Oregon question was settled

C. The annexation of Texas
1. Impossibility of getting a treaty.
2. The Joint Resolution.

V. The Mexican War

A. Causes
1. Mexican objection to annexation of Texas.
2. The disputed boundary. (*a*) "American blood shed on American soil."

B. Plan of the war
   1. To invade Mexico from the north.
   2. To land on eastern coast and take the capital.
   3. To conquer California.

C. The working of the plan
   1. Taylor's campaign in the north; Buena Vista.
   2. Scott's campaign; Vera Cruz.
   3. Kearney in California.

D. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
   1. Trist's mission.
   2. Terms of the treaty.

E. Great increase in American territory

Problems

TOPIC

II. What bearing would the Monroe Doctrine have on the organization of a Texan republic?

IV. How did the way in which Texas became a state differ from the way other states came into the Union?

V. Was the Mexican War justifiable? *Points to consider:* Into what could California have developed in the hands of Mexico? Does might make right? May a man or a nation do evil that good may come?

Exercise: On an outline map, draw the boundaries of the three regions acquired by the United States in this period. Indicate the states which have since been organized in each section. Make a list of the principal resources of each of the three areas.

The Demand for New Land. The Southern farmers of the days before the Civil War were poor agriculturists. They had not learned the impossibility of getting something for nothing. Cotton production exhausted the soil very rapidly, yet no attention was paid to the necessity for rotation of crops, or the fertilization of the earth. In the days of boundless cheap lands, the accepted cure for a worn-out plantation was to get a new one. As long as the national domain contained unsettled land suitable for cotton production, this was easy enough. But after Arkansas became a state, in 1836, new land was harder to get. "King Cotton" became cramped for room. His share of the Louisiana Purchase, as defined by the Missouri Compromise, had been absorbed, and the time had come when he could no longer satisfy the cry of his restless subjects for "more land."

Texas and Its Possibilities. It is small wonder that envious eyes were cast beyond the borders. There lay Texas, once Span-

ish owned, afterward an outlying province of Mexico,[1] and possessing the soil and climate to make it a cotton planter's paradise. Men remembered that the United States had once claimed it as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, and had surrendered it to Spain as a part of the bargain by which Florida was acquired. They knew, too, that the great majority of its settlers were Americans, men who would prefer to live under the Stars and Stripes. Moreover, Mexican overlordship was afflicted with revolutions so frequently that its fleeting governments failed to command respect.

Fur Trading Post in the Oregon Country

The fur trader blazed the trail for the real pioneer settlement. From such lonely outposts as this, the traders explored the country about them, established relations with the Indians, and most important of all, sent back the glowing tales of the land which induced the home seekers to come out and really conquer the wilderness.

With so little control at home the Mexicans became more and more alarmed at the American immigration into Texas. Spain had encouraged it, offering free lands and special privileges with regard to slaves, in the days of her rule, and the earlier Mexican government had continued the policy. When the resulting immigration had raised the American population in Texas to 20,000, the Mexicans became seriously alarmed. Nor were their fears lessened when the United States government showed signs of being an overwilling purchaser. They felt their hold on the rich

[1] Mexico had won her independence in 1821, and had established a republican form of government modeled on that of the United States.

province slipping. An attempt was made to prohibit further colonization by levying taxes on the importation of farming machinery and other supplies, and by an edict forbidding slavery.[1] Since the Mexican officers were unable to enforce these laws, their effect was of little consequence, except that it turned the thought of the Texan-Americans toward independence.

For many years the ownership of the Oregon Country was in dispute. Russia and Spain gave up their claims early in the nineteenth century. In 1818, Great Britain and the United States agreed upon the line of 49° as their boundary east of the Rocky mountains. In 1846, they agreed to divide the Oregon Country by continuing this same line to the Pacific.

The Texan Revolution. At this stage a new revolutionary leader, Santa Anna, became prominent in Mexican affairs, made himself dictator, and established peace with a rule of iron. A part of his plan was to do away with local self-government in Texas. The result as far as Texas was concerned was war, a war for independence (1835–36). The United States government declared its neutrality, but the people of the country, especially of the South, were stirred by sympathy for the Texan cause. Hundreds of them volunteered their services. The Mexicans on their part fought so brutally that public opinion everywhere condemned them, and upheld the sturdy Texans, who, although greatly outnumbered, drove the Mexicans from Texas and established the Texan Republic. Ameri-

[1] The edict was later withdrawn when the Mexicans allowed themselves to be persuaded that it was a breach of faith. The argument was that since the Americans had been invited to come into Texas with their slaves, it would be unfair to change the terms of the arrangement.

cans at heart, they looked forward to annexation by the United States, but to this the North objected strongly. Such an addition to the Union would mean added strength to the South, though the reason usually given for opposing the annexation was that Mexico had never relinquished her claim to Texas,

Fort Astoria

John Jacob Astor, for whom Astoria was named, was one of the first American heroes of commerce. A butcher's boy in Germany at sixteen, next a penniless runaway lad in London, then an emigrant to America, with a tiny stock of goods to exchange, were some of the experiences of his early life.

He reached New York in 1784, and traded his merchandise for furs, and so found his road to wealth. In ten years he had a profitable business and was dreaming of establishing a line of forts across the plains that should control the fur trade of the continent. The first of these, Astoria, was on the Pacific slope, twelve miles from the mouth of the Columbia. Through the treachery of Astor's men it was surrendered to the British in the War of 1812, but was restored to the Americans at its close.

and might consider a formal act of union a just cause for war. For eight years Texas remained an independent republic.

Conflicting Claims to Oregon. While this was going on in the Southwest, the people of the Northwest had been pushing forward into the fertile Oregon country, lying north of California and west of the Rocky Mountains. Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States had all laid claim to this region. The Spanish claim, based on the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa and the activity

of Spanish missionaries, had been transferred to the United States by the Florida Purchase treaty. The Russian claim, based on the ownership of Alaska, had been surrendered by a treaty in 1824 in which Russia agreed to make no settlements south of 54° 40′ (the present southern boundary of Alaska).

Under "Joint Occupation." This left Great Britain and the United States as rival claimants. The former based her claim on the discoveries of Sir Francis Drake and the activities of her fur traders who had established trading posts on the Columbia river. The latter also based her claim on discovery and exploration. An American sea captain named Gray had sailed up the Columbia river in 1792; Lewis and Clark had explored the region; and an American fur trading post had been established at Astoria in 1811. In 1818 the United States and Great Britain agreed to a treaty of *joint occupation* to last ten years. The agreement was renewed and lasted for almost thirty years. It was an arrangement which gave the Americans the advantage, for they were in a better position to make actual settlements. By 1843, there were enough American pioneers in Oregon to make some kind of government necessary. They held a meeting and formed a government of their own. Since they had braved the hardships of the long journey overland and the trials of the wilderness, these Oregon Americans naturally wanted to have the United States become the undisputed owner of the territory, and were ready to fight, if necessary, to secure that end.

"You Greedy Boy"

The South is represented as the greedy boy who, although he has Texas, is reaching out for still more land.

The Election of 1844. In 1844, James K. Polk of Tennessee was nominated for President by the Democrats. He believed that he could take advantage of the appetite of both North and South for more land and so win the presidency for himself. The annexation of Texas, which had been often proposed and often postponed — the annexation of Texas, because of the possibilities for cotton culture and the increase of slave territory, — would please the South. The acquisition of the whole of the Oregon country would please the North. So Polk took as his campaign slogan, "The reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon." A favorite rallying cry of the Democrats was, "Fifty-four forty or fight," meaning of course that we would have the whole of the Oregon country or go to war with Great Britain. Polk was elected by a very small majority over Henry Clay, the candidate of the Whigs. The Oregon question was soon settled (1846) by a sensible compromise. The region was divided, the southern part coming to the United States, and the northern part going to Great Britain. The line of 49° became the boundary of the United States from the Great Lakes to the Pacific ocean.[1]

JAMES KNOX POLK, 1795–1849

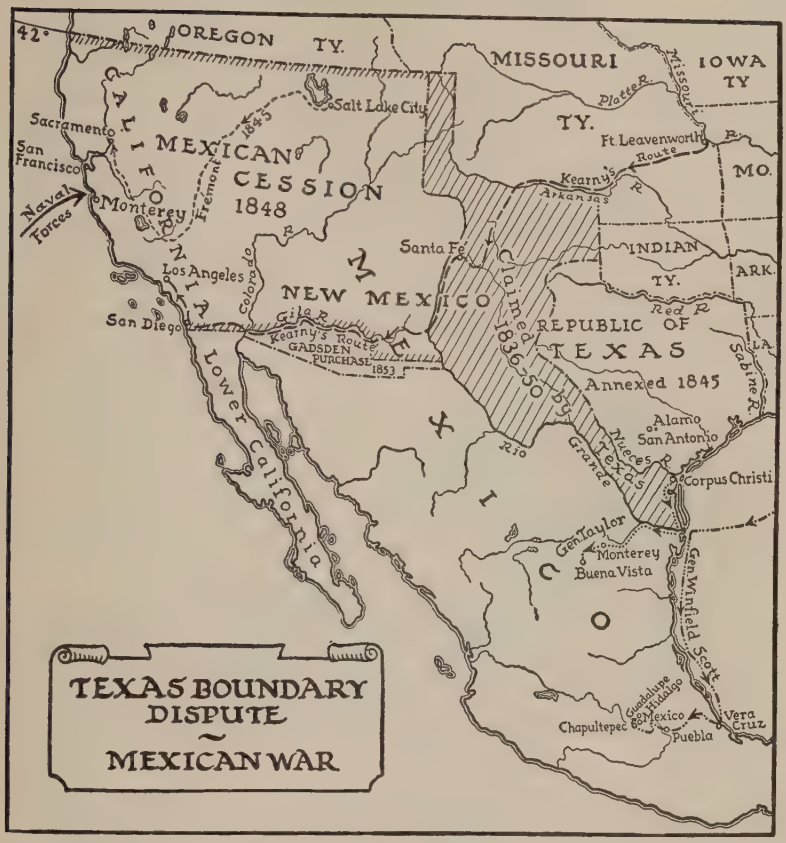
Born in North Carolina, of sturdy Scotch-Irish ancestry, Polk led the simple, hard, pioneer life that was the usual experience of his time. He studied law, settled in Tennessee, and came to look at the questions of his day from the standpoint of a western farmer. He believed in territorial expansion, and during the four years of his presidential term saw the annexation of a million square miles to the national domain.

[1] A long-standing dispute over the boundary between Canada and the northeastern states had been settled in 1842 by the Webster-Ashburton treaty with Great Britain. Under the terms of this treaty a compromise line was agreed upon between Maine and Canada, and the boundary line was also defined as far west as the Lake of the Woods.

Texas Annexed to the Union. Meanwhile the Texan question was also settled. Attempts to secure annexation by treaty, the natural way to bring it about, had failed. A treaty required a two-thirds vote in the Senate for ratification and Northern opposition to the annexation of the great slave empire made that impossible. The fear that Great Britain might form an alliance with Texas for the commercial advantage of the one and the protection of the other, helped to hurry matters. A "joint resolution," which required only a majority vote in each House, was introduced into Congress. February 28, 1845, just a few days before Polk was inaugurated, Congress adopted the resolution and Texas was annexed.

The Boundary Dispute. Although Mexico had officially notified the United States that the annexation of the colony which she still regarded as hers would be considered a just cause for war, actual fighting could probably have been avoided by more tactful and diplomatic conduct on the part of the United States government, although the Mexican government was unreliable and irresponsible. While matters were in this very critical state between the two neighboring countries, a dispute arose as to the southwestern boundary of Texas. Mexico maintained that the Nueces river was the rightful boundary, while Texas claimed that it was the Rio Grande. This difference of opinion was no more serious than the controversy over the northern boundary of Oregon, which was settled with Great Britain in a friendly spirit. But in the case of Mexico, President Polk undertook to settle the question by ordering General Zachary Taylor with 10,000 men into the disputed area. Mexican troops immediately crossed the river and in a skirmish sixteen American soldiers were killed. When this news reached Washington, President Polk sent a stirring message to Congress declaring that "American blood has been shed on American soil." Congress responded by a declaration of war.

Moral and Military Aspects of the War. Whatever may be the moral question with regard to this war, which a great American general of a later day was to characterize as "one of the most unjust wars ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation,"



When Texas won her independence in 1836, she claimed the Rio Grande river as a boundary. The shaded area indicates the region which Mexico insisted was not a part of Texas. After Texas became a part of the United States, a clash between American and Mexican troops in the disputed area led to a war in which General Taylor invaded northern Mexico, General Scott captured the City of Mexico, and Kearny, Frémont, and naval forces took possession of California.

on its military side it was a great triumph. Southern volunteer troops were used, first because they were nearer the scene of action, and second because of their very real sympathy with the war. The military training thus secured was to be of great advantage to the South at a later date.

The Plan for Conducting the War. According to the plan which had been prepared, General Taylor with a reinforced army was to advance into northern Mexico from the border. Winfield Scott was to go to Vera Cruz by water, and then march overland to Mexico City. A small fleet was ordered to the Pacific coast. General Kearny was to march by land over the Santa Fé trail, take as much of New Mexico as possible, and cooperate with the naval forces in getting possession of the California coast towns.

WINFIELD SCOTT, 1786–1866

Although educated for the law, Scott entered upon a military career when he was twenty-two, and remained a soldier all his life. In the War of 1812, in the Black Hawk Indian War, and in the Mexican War, he won great renown. In spite of his advanced age he began active service in the Civil War, but after a short time, he was permitted to retire.

Working the Plan. The plan worked with a smoothness almost beyond belief and the war was an unbroken series of victories. The chief obstacle in the way of the generals in command of the armies was the jealousy of Polk, who was ambitious for a second term as President. After Taylor had won several victories in northern Mexico, Polk ordered him to stop, and withdrew all his forces except 10,000 men. Here in the heart of the enemy country the little army was attacked by General Santa Anna with a Mexican force that outnumbered the Americans about three to one. Yet even in the face of such odds the Americans won an overwhelming victory at Buena Vista. The result justified Polk's fears, for the nation expressed its appreciation of Taylor's victory by making the General its next President.

Meanwhile General Scott had attacked and taken Vera Cruz. He then marched overland to Mexico City, which fell an easy conquest after a three weeks' siege. Mexico was prostrate.

Far-away California was also in the control of American troops. The residents, a few of whom were Americans, desired the commercial advantages and the protection offered by the American flag. The American forces met with little resistance, town after town surrendering with scarcely a struggle. The war was virtually over by September, 1847.

The Peace Treaty. Then came the task of making peace. Because President Polk was anxious to have the war end as quickly as possible, he sent Nicholas P. Trist as special peace commissioner. His instructions were "to demand the cession

CAPTAIN ROBERT E. LEE LIEUTENANT ULYSSES S. GRANT

Two young officers to whom the Mexican War served as a training school. The first served under Scott and was commended by his superior officer "for extraordinary skill and energy" in the siege of Vera Cruz. The other served under Taylor, and was twice promoted for "gallant conduct and distinguished services."

of New Mexico and California in satisfaction of American claims against Mexico." Trist made the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on this basis early in 1848, in spite of the fact that he had been recalled and another agent sent in his place. Considering the fact that Mexico was prostrate and would have been forced to grant anything that the United States demanded, the treaty terms were fairly generous. As finally ratified, the treaty of peace provided: 1. Mexico acknowledged the Rio Grande as the rightful boundary of Texas; 2. Mexico surrendered all claim to California and New Mexico; 3. The United States agreed to pay Mexico $15,000,000 in cash, and to assume claims due to American

citizens amounting to $3,500,000. These were claims which Mexico had promised to pay but had not done so.

Growth of the United States. Men were still living at the close of the Mexican War who had been little children when Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States. Then it was an open question whether a government made up of such different elements could endure. By purchase,[1] by treaty, and by war the nation had stretched its domain far beyond any limits the forefathers had imagined possible. From ocean to ocean there was one flag. Unfortunately that flag waved over two opposing interests. Climate and products had fastened upon the South the curse of slavery. Northern prosperity rested upon the more solid basis of free labor. It remained for time to settle whether the nation could endure half slave and half free.

[1] In 1853 another strip of territory, known as the Gadsden Purchase, was bought from Mexico for $10,000,000. It was bought to make easier the construction of a railroad to California.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE AFTERMATH OF THE MEXICAN WAR

I. The Problems Involved in Territorial Expansion — *Fite, pp. 317–322*

A. Shall the new territory be slave or free?
   1. Discussions in Congress. (*a*) Wilmot Proviso. (*b*) Southern demands. (*c*) Popular Sovereignty.

B. The question in California. — *Hart, p. 276*
   1. Effect of gold discovery.
   2. Government. (*a*) Vigilance committee. (*b*) The state constitution.

C. What shall be the boundary of Texas?

II. Other Slavery Questions — *Hart, p. 251*

A. Demand for a new fugitive slave law

B. Demand for abolition of slavery in District of Columbia

C. The interstate slave trade

III. The Compromise of 1850 — *Poems, p. 388*

A. Work of Henry Clay
   1. Omnibus bill.

B. Attitude of Daniel Webster — *Fite, pp. 323–324*

C. Terms of the Compromise

D. Compromise approved
   1. By people generally.
   2. By political parties. (*a*) Election of 1852.

E. Reaction against the Compromise
   1. Personal liberty laws.
   2. Underground railroad.
   3. "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Problems

TOPIC

II. Write a dialogue between a Senator from Alabama and one from Vermont on the question of house servants in Washington.

III. Did the North or the South gain more by this Compromise?

Special Topics: Lives of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun (see pages 567–569)

Post-war Problems. "From the division of the spoils springs the new war," an old writer tells us. The United States faced

a grave crisis after the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The North had opposed the war with Mexico and often claimed that it was the "South's war." Indeed that section had borne the heavier share of its burdens and proposed to have a full share of its rewards. The ill-feeling between the North and the South became more evident and their differences of opinion became more clearly marked in the discussions after the war than ever before. The question of slavery was the dividing line.

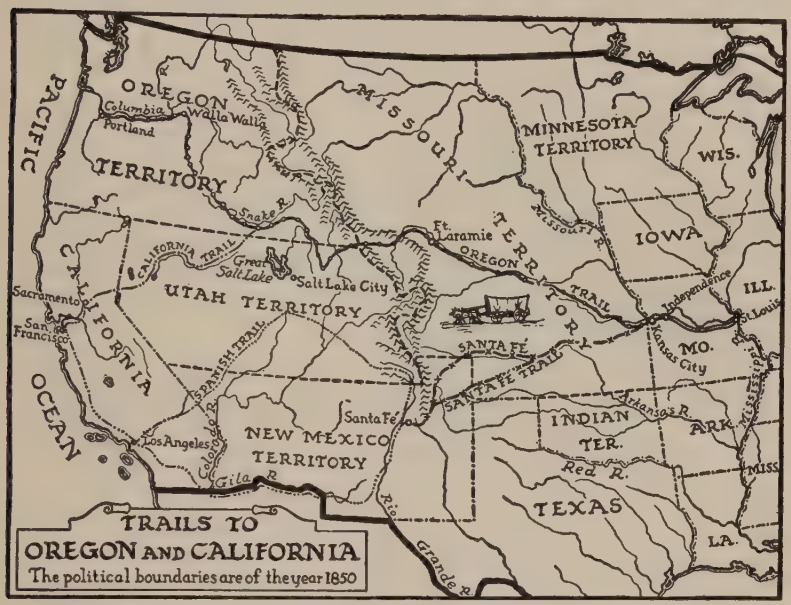
Three Answers Proposed. Whether the territory of the Mexican Cession should be slave or free was the first problem to be settled. Three possible answers to the question were offered. One was known as the *Wilmot proviso*. It took its name from David Wilmot, a Democratic Congressman from Pennsylvania. Even before the Mexican War, a bill had been introduced into Congress to hand over to President Polk a large sum of money with which "to acquire new lands from Mexico." Wilmot offered an amendment to add these words, "provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever exist in any part of the territory so acquired." The Wilmot amendment was not passed, but it came up again and again in Congress.[1] People who were opposed to the further extension of slavery spoke of themselves as favoring the Wilmot proviso.

The second answer to the question was that of the pro-slavery men. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was their spokesman. He declared that slaves were property; that the Constitution guaranteed to all citizens protection of property; and therefore that slaveowners must be protected in the possession of their property everywhere in the United States. If this doctrine were accepted, Congress could not bar slavery out of the territories.

What seemed to many people to be a compromise between these two answers was a doctrine set forth by Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois. He called it "popular sovereignty"; his opponents spoke of it derisively as "squatter sovereignty."

[1] Abraham Lincoln, who was then a Congressman, said that he voted for the measure in one form or another nine different times.

According to Douglas, the territories should be open to all comers, pro-slavery men or anti-slavery men, who might go in and make settlements, and when the population should become dense enough, they were to decide by majority vote whether the district should be slave or free. The fairness of this proposal was more apparent than real. Free labor could not compete with slave



Along these trails thousands of men made their toilsome way to seek fortunes in the newly discovered gold fields of California, or to establish fur trading posts and homes in the Oregon wilderness, while the Mormons founded a commonwealth by the shores of Great Salt Lake.

labor, and where slavery was protected, white labor would not go. Nevertheless, this proposition to let the people decide for themselves what they wanted sounded so fair that many people accepted it, both in the North and in the South.

California. What was to be done with California soon became a special division of the general question. Before Congress could decide under which plan to organize the new territory, things happened in California which changed the whole problem so

far as the Pacific coast was concerned. In January, 1848, gold was discovered in the Sacramento valley. As the news of this great find traveled eastward a wild rush into the gold fields began. All classes of men gave up their usual occupations to gain fortunes in California. Some undertook the long nine months' sea voyage around Cape Horn; others traveled by way of the fever-laden Isthmus of Panama; while still others made their way slowly overland, many of them dying on the long desert journey, from hunger or thirst or Indian attack. In spite of all the hardships of the way, however, more than 80,000 men reached California in the one year, 1849.[1] Eager, determined, and unruly men made up the bulk of this population, and a government which could enforce law and secure order was soon necessary. It was impossible to wait for Congress to pass an act to organize the territory. "Vigilance committees" were established which "punished wrongdoers and asked questions afterwards." Soon the independent Californians held a convention, adopted a constitution, and when the new Congress met in December, 1849,[2] California was asking to be admitted as a state. Since most of the settlers were from the North, the constitution had a clause forbidding slavery.

Sutter's Mill and Race

About one week before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, an eastern visitor picked up some flakes of gold in the race of a new saw mill, about sixty miles from where the city of Sacramento is now located. When the news of the find spread, one stream of migration set in overland across the continent, while another came by way of the Isthmus of Panama. California seemed to become populated overnight.

The Texas Boundary. The dispute over the boundary of

[1] A few of them became wealthy; most of them, however, would have been better off if they had stayed at home. Before 1856, more than $400,000,000 worth of gold was produced in California.

[2] The term of the old Congress had expired on March 4, and no Congress had been in session during this exciting summer in California.

Texas was another problem closely connected with territorial questions. The new state claimed all the territory to the Rio Grande, while the national government believed a large slice of this region was included in its purchase of New Mexico. The anti-slavery men looked upon this Texan claim as an effort to open another large area to slavery by including it within the slave state of Texas.

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA
In the days of the *Forty Niners*

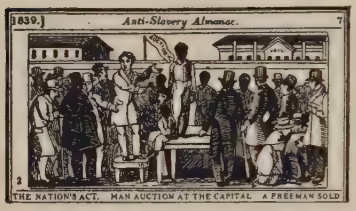
Although Sacramento was founded in 1839, on land granted to an Americanized Swiss by the Mexican government, it was not of any importance until the gold discovery of 1849. Then it became the great center of the mines, the base of supplies, and the place toward which miners turned their faces for a glimpse of "civilization."

In addition to these questions of what to do with the newly acquired territory, several other slavery problems were being constantly discussed.

The Fugitive Slave Law. Should there be a more effective fugitive slave law than the one which had been passed in 1793? The South was demanding this. The old law for the return of runaway slaves depended for its enforcement upon local officials. Northern sympathy for these fugitives was keen, and slaveowners found Northern constables and juries very unwilling to aid in returning to slavery a negro who had escaped into a free state.

The Southerners believed that officials appointed by the national government would be more ready to help them; and so they demanded a new law which could be enforced by United States marshals and United States judges, without the necessity for a jury trial.

Should slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia, as the anti-slavery men of the North were demanding? The slave market in Washington was within sight of the capitol, and many Americans felt that such a thing was entirely out of place in a nation founded on the proposition "that all men are created equal." Congress, which makes all the laws for the District of Columbia, had power to abolish slavery there if it so desired.



People who were opposed to slavery were especially indignant because of the slave markets maintained at the national capital. They pointed out the effect of such a sight on visitors from lands in which slavery was not tolerated.

The Interstate Slave Trade. Should the interstate slave trade be abolished? Northern sentiment was strongly opposed to this practice. Many Northern people felt that the breeding of slaves for far-southern markets, a practice carried on in some of the older states of the South, was a disgrace to the whole country, and that the breaking up of families as the slaves were sold to different buyers was cruel and inhuman.

The Omnibus Bill. The feeling in the two sections was intense. For a time it seemed that neither would yield and that war was certain. Several efforts at compromise had already failed, when Henry Clay proposed a series of measures, several of which were placed in the same bill. This gave the Compromise of 1850 its popular name, the Omnibus Bill. After a great deal of discussion, the various measures were passed, not because either section was satisfied, but because it seemed the only way to avoid disunion.[1]

[1] Zachary Taylor, who was President when the compromise measures were introduced, was opposed to them, insisting that each bill should be considered on its merits. He died on July 9, 1850, after a five-day illness. His successor, Millard Fillmore, gave his approval to the bills as passed by Congress.

The greatest disappointment of the anti-slavery party came from Daniel Webster's support of the Compromise. He was accused of going over to the Southern cause, in order to secure the presidential nomination of 1852. Perhaps a fairer view is that he feared the breaking up of the Union unless the South got a part of what she asked. In his famous speech on March 7, 1850, Webster defended his willingness to see Utah and New Mexico opened to slavery. "I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature," he declared, "nor to reenact the will of God." There were many who shared his belief that the climate of the new territories was such that slavery would never be profitable in them.

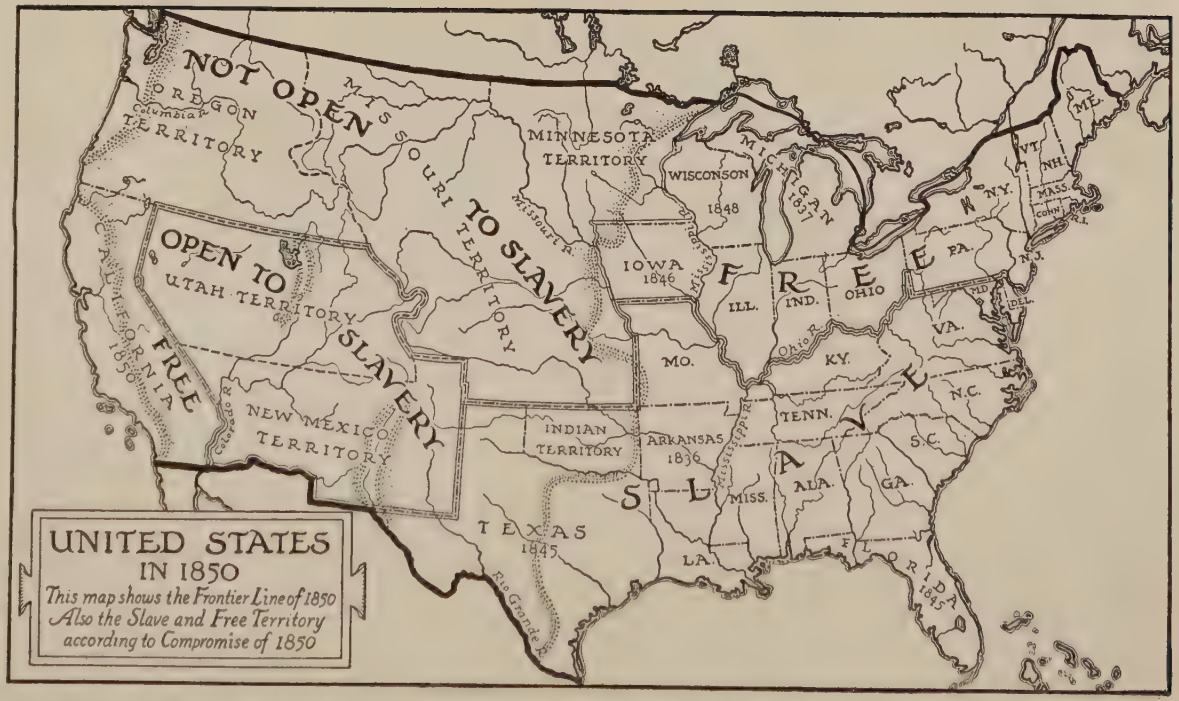
The Compromise of 1850. As a result of the Compromise of 1850, as finally accepted:

California was admitted as a free state; the rest of the Mexican cession was organized into two territories, Utah and New Mexico, both open to slavery under popular sovereignty; Texas was paid $10,000,000 and in return gave up her claim to a part of New Mexico;[1] the slave trade, but not slavery, was abolished in the District of Columbia; a new fugitive slave law was passed, providing for the appointment of special United States officers in each state who were bound to assist in the return of runaway slaves. These officers could command the services of anyone whom they needed to help them. Moreover any person accused of being a slave was denied trial by jury.

The whole country breathed a sigh of relief when the Compromise was finally adopted. The danger of the breaking up of the Union had seemed very real, not only to Daniel Webster but to many other people. So they rejoiced in the Compromise of 1850 and hoped that it would prove a permanent settlement of the vexing problem.

The Election of 1852 and the Slavery Issue. As the presidential election of 1852 approached, both the Democrats and the Whigs adopted platforms expressing their full approval of the Compromise "as the solution" of the problem of the "exten-

[1] This money was used to pay off bonds issued during the Texan war for independence. These were held by Southern men, who thus profited by this provision.



In 1820, a dividing line had been drawn between the free and slave sections of the country. This line extended to the western limits of the United States as it then existed. By the Compromise of 1850, this dividing line was continued across the newly acquired territory to the Pacific coast.

sion of slavery." The Whigs, who had elected General Taylor in 1848, now nominated Winfield Scott, another Mexican War general, for the presidency. The Democrats had trouble in selecting a satisfactory candidate, but finally chose Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, chiefly because he had never been prominent in national politics and therefore had no record which would be likely to lose him votes in either the North or the South. Only the Free Soil party continued its opposition to slavery; and its vote was much smaller in 1852 than it had been in 1848. Pierce was elected by a large majority, and the overwhelming defeat was a death blow to the Whig party. A witty Democrat remarked, " Here lies the Whig party, which died of an effort to swallow the fugitive slave law."

There was much truth in the statement. Clay, Webster, and President Fillmore, all Whigs, had approved that law. And already it was bitterly hated in the North. Many of the Northern states were passing personal liberty laws which put legal obstacles in the way of those who were trying to capture fugitive slaves. Vermont, for example, denied the use of her jails to Southerners as a place to keep their recaptured slaves, and forbade any citizen to assist in taking a fugitive out of the state.

Effects of the Fugitive Slave Law. Attempts to enforce the fugitive slave law led to exciting arrests and thrilling rescues.[1] Many Northern men felt that they were justified in helping any negro to escape. Said one, " I have no more hesitation in helping a fugitive slave than I have in snatching a lamb from the jaws of a wolf." So general was the readiness to aid runaway slaves that a regular system of routes, known as the Underground Railroad, was developed. Along these ways negroes, aided by white friends, passed stealthily, often hiding by day and journeying by night. Many hundreds succeeded each year in reaching free Canada, especially by way of Ohio and Pennsylvania.

" Uncle Tom's Cabin." Harriet Beecher Stowe was one of those who had helped slaves to escape. She was stirred to the

[1] For example, eight days after the law was passed, a negro who had lived for three years in New York City, a prominent church member and a good citizen, was seized as a runaway slave, and without any opportunity for his friends to testify in his behalf was taken to Maryland as a slave.

depths of her soul by the things she saw and heard. She wrote them out in story form, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became the most widely read book in the North. Over 300,000 copies were sold the year it was published (1852). Of course the tale gave only one side of the story, but it was the side the North was eager to hear. Great numbers of boys who read that book in 1852 were old enough to cast their first votes for Lincoln in 1860 and don the blue uniform to fight for their country in 1861.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, 1811–1896

Daughter of one well-known minister, and sister of another even more renowned, Harriet Beecher Stowe was born and educated under conditions which made it natural for her to teach and to preach. With her older sister she opened a school in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832, and here, on the border of a slave state, she saw enough of the evils of slavery to enable her to teach and to preach a lesson against it vividly and impressively. That is exactly what she did in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and a large part of the anti-slavery sentiment of the period before the war was the result of that lesson.

Mrs. Stowe wrote many other books, some of them far superior to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in style and construction, but none of them ever compared with it in influencing and interesting the public.

Value of the Compromise Measures. The Compromise of 1850 was an honest effort to solve the slavery problem. It is possible that it postponed the coming war for another ten years. If so, it was well worth while. The fugitive slave law was its worst blunder; all efforts to enforce that law had the effect of continually rubbing the edges of a great wound, for which the Compromise as a whole was intended to be a healing ointment.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CRISIS IN THE UNION

I. The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise

A. Douglas and the Kansas–Nebraska bill
   1. What Douglas desired.
   2. Why the South was pleased.

B. The reaction in the North
   1. Republican party formed.

II. The Struggle for Kansas

Fite, pp. 328–329

A. Squatter sovereignty on trial
   1. Rush of slave owners to Kansas.
   2. Kansas organized as a slave territory.
   3. The emigration from the North.

Hart, p. 287

Poems, p. 389

B. Civil War in Kansas

C. Election of 1856
   1. Its effect on Kansas.

D. Kansas won for freedom

III. Slavery Becomes the All-Important Issue

Hart, p. 294

A. The effect of "Bleeding Kansas"

B. The Dred Scott decision
   1. What the Supreme Court decided.
   2. Effect on the South.
   3. Effect on the North.

C. The Lincoln–Douglas debates
   1. The Freeport doctrine.

D. John Brown's raid
   1. Effect in the South.

IV. The Election of 1860

Hart, p. 291

Thompson, pp. 288–289

A. Democratic party divided
   1. Southern Democrats — Breckinridge.
   2. Northern Democrats — Douglas.

B. Republican party — Lincoln

C. Constitutional Union party — Bell

D. Result of the election

V. Secession — *Poems, p. 400*; *Fite, pp. 344–346*

- A. Arguments of the South
  1. Sovereignty of the states.
  2. Importance of slavery.
- B. Arguments of the North
  1. Sovereignty of the nation.
- C. Secession a fact
  1. South Carolina takes the lead.
  2. The Confederacy organized.

VI. The Nation and the Crisis — *Poems, p. 299*; *Hart, p. 299*

- A. Buchanan hesitates
  1. "Star of the West."
- B. Attempts at compromise
  1. Crittenden's proposal.
  2. Lincoln's attitude.
- C. Waiting for Lincoln
  1. The Inaugural Address.
- D. The coming of the crisis
  1. The firing on Fort Sumter.

Problems

TOPIC

II. How long must a citizen live in your state before he can vote? Was there any such law in Kansas in 1855?

Why did popular sovereignty work out so differently in New Mexico and in Kansas?

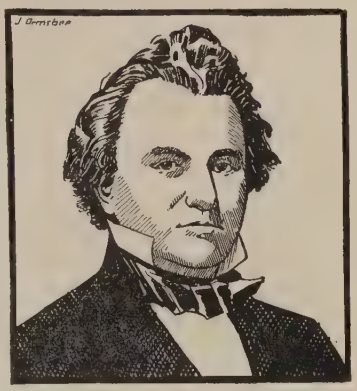
What had been the attitude of the Whig and the Democratic parties on: (*a*) Protective Tariff; (*b*) The Bank Question; (*c*) Annexation of Texas; (*d*) Mexican War; (*e*) Compromise of 1850; (*f*) Kansas-Nebraska Act?

V. If the Southern states had not seceded, could the President or Congress have done away with slavery?

Special Topic: Life of Abraham Lincoln (see page 571)

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The hope that the Compromise of 1850 would settle the slavery question was soon shattered. By 1853, Missouri slaveowners were casting longing eyes toward the territory directly west of her border. Learning of their desire, Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, conceived a plan which he hoped would win him the presidency. To do this he must gain the support of the South and at the same time keep his friends in the free states of the West. Accordingly, he urged a bill in

Congress providing for the organization of two new territories in the northwest, Kansas and Nebraska, under the principle of popular sovereignty, which had been accepted as a successful solution of the problem in New Mexico and Utah. The result at first seemed to prove the wisdom of his plan. The Democrats of Illinois were satisfied with Douglas's arguments in behalf of popular sovereignty, while the South was overjoyed at the prospect of another slave state. With the help of President Pierce, the leaders of the cotton kingdom had been making unsuccessful efforts to acquire Cuba.[1] This out-and-out gift at the hands of a Northern Democrat of a region from which slaveholders had been definitely barred by the Missouri Compromise seemed to them far more attractive.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, 1813–1861

In addition to an early battle with poverty, Douglas had to fight one with ill-health. He was always physically delicate and short of stature, but because of his wonderful brain power his friends gave him the name of the "Little Giant."

Douglas seems to have had no convictions as to the evil of slavery, but when Civil War came he stood squarely for the Union. "There can be no neutrals in this war," he said.

In behalf of his bill, Douglas argued that the Missouri Compromise had been repealed by the Compromise of 1850. Since by that law Congress had given the territories of Utah and New Mexico the right to decide for themselves with regard to slavery, he said, Congress was in duty bound to give the same right to all other territories. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed with the

[1] Under instructions from the President, Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, our ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain, met at Ostend, Belgium, to talk over the purchase of Cuba. They issued a paper known as the "Ostend Manifesto," declaring that if Spain should refuse to sell Cuba at a fair price, "then by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power" because Spanish control would "seriously endanger our internal peace." This doctrine was at once disapproved by the President.

support of the Southerners, who fully expected to make Kansas a slave state.

Effect on the North. The anti-slavery men of the North were indignant. This move seemed to be a deliberate attempt to turn over to the slaveowners territory which had been set apart for freedom in 1820. All through the North, meetings of protest were held. In their wrath at this new wrong, men forgot that they had been Democrats and Whigs. A new party sprang up, at first called the Anti-Nebraska party, and afterward the Republican.[1] It absorbed the old Free Soil party and by the next year (1855) had a majority in many of the Northern states.

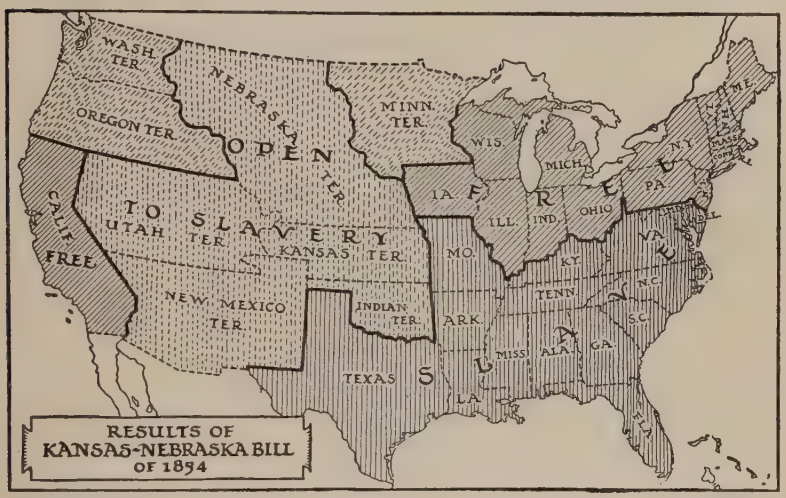
The Kansas Situation. Meantime squatter sovereignty was on trial in Kansas. No sooner was the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed than pro-slavery men from Missouri hastened across the border. Some of them came only on the morning of election day, voted, and then moved back to Missouri that night. Only one anti-slavery man held a seat in the first territorial legislature and he speedily resigned. Laws were at once passed to protect slavery in Kansas and to make it unlawful for anyone to speak or write in opposition to it.

The pro-slavery men were not long left in undisputed possession of Kansas. An Emigrant Aid Society had been organized in the North; anti-slavery men were urged to join the crusade to save Kansas; collections were taken in the churches to help pay their expenses and buy their equipment.[2] When these anti-slavery settlers found the pro-slavery men in possession of the territorial government, they claimed that the election had been fraudulent (because thousands of Missouri citizens had voted), proceeded to organize a government of their own with its capital at Topeka, adopted a constitution, and appealed to Congress to be admitted as a free state. Thus there were two governments in Kansas.

[1] This party must not be confused with the Republican party of Jefferson's day, although some men joined the new party who had voted for Jefferson, claiming they were getting back to his teachings that all men were created equal.

[2] At one such meeting, Henry Ward Beecher promised that his church would contribute several rifles as a part of this equipment. These rifles became known in Kansas as "Beecher's Bibles."

Both sides armed for a struggle and soon civil war was raging in the territory. It began with an attack on the anti-slavery town of Lawrence, in which a few men were killed and considerable property destroyed. A free-state Kansan, John Brown by name, with an almost insane hatred for slavery, undertook to avenge the attack on Lawrence by dragging five pro-slavery men from their cabins and killing them. Months of fighting followed, and



The Kansas-Nebraska bill reopened the slavery question, which apparently had been settled by the Compromise of 1850. Under this law Kansas and Nebraska Territories were thrown open to slavery. Three years later (1857) the Dred Scott decision made slavery legal in the remaining Territories.

it cost the lives of nearly two hundred men to prove that popular sovereignty did not work as a solution of the slavery problem.

The Election of 1856. When the election of 1856 approached, the Kansas question was uppermost in everybody's mind. The Democrats did not wish to nominate anyone who had had a share in bringing on the trouble in Kansas. So they chose James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had been our minister to Great Britain during all this period. The new Republican party nominated John C. Fremont of California, who carried eleven of the sixteen Northern states.

Kansas Refused Statehood. Buchanan, who was elected, promised a square deal for Kansas. A new election was held in that territory for delegates to a constitutional convention. Although the anti-slavery men were in the majority, they refused to vote because they did not believe the election would be conducted fairly. The pro-slavery men therefore chose all the delegates. The convention met at Lecompton, adopted a pro-slavery constitution, and asked that Kansas be admitted as a slave state. Douglas, true to his doctrine of popular sovereignty, insisted that the people of Kansas should be allowed to vote for or against the Lecompton constitution. Buchanan and the slavery leaders would not agree to this, and attempted to force a bill through Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. Douglas was able to defeat the bill, and Kansas remained a territory until 1861, when she came in as a free state.

James Buchanan, 1791–1868

James Buchanan spent almost his entire life in public service. In his early manhood he was a Federalist, but a prolonged study of the constitution convinced him that the Democratic principles were right, and he later joined that party. He was always guided in his public actions by what he believed the Constitution to mean.

Above all things, Buchanan wished to avoid civil war. His efforts to do so made him very unpopular in the North, and cost him the respect of many of his former friends. After his retirement, he supported the Lincoln administration.

Anti-slavery Sentiment Strengthened. One effect of the bitter struggle in Kansas was to convince men everywhere that the nation could not endure half slave and half free. Throughout the North, "bleeding Kansas" was a powerful argument against the extension of slavery. Other events of the same period drove home the lesson that a nation divided against itself could not stand.

The Dred Scott Decision. In March, 1857, the Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Taney (see page 284), announced its decision in the famous Dred Scott case. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave who had gone with his master to Minnesota, and afterward returned to Missouri. He sued for his freedom on the ground that having lived for a time in territory made free by the Missouri Compromise he himself had become free. The Supreme Court decided, first, that a negro descended from slaves could not become a citizen of the United States and therefore could not bring a suit in the Federal courts. The Court then went on to say that even if his case could be heard, residence in Minnesota would not make him free, because the Missouri Compromise, itself, was unconstitutional, and that Congress had no power to bar slavery from any of the territories of the United States.

This decision was hailed with joy among the slaveholders of the South, for it seemed to uphold their most advanced arguments in favor of national protection of slavery. In the North, there was dismay at first, and then a stronger determination to use every legal means to check the growth of slavery.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. The next year (1858) a campaign for United States Senator from Illinois attracted the attention of the whole country. The candidates were Stephen A. Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and a skillful and experienced orator, who was still hoping to win the presidency; and Abraham Lincoln, already a successful lawyer, but not very widely known outside of Illinois. In the course of the campaign, the candidates held a series of joint debates in several Illinois towns. These debates were always on the question of slavery, and the people of the whole country as they heard or read the arguments of these two men began to think more deeply than ever before of this great problem. Douglas, who was the more experienced debater, made, on the whole, a better impression on his hearers, and won the election. But Lincoln's sincerity, honesty, and force gained him high praise. In the course of one of the debates at Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas a question regarding the effect of the Dred Scott Decision on popular sovereignty in the territories. It was a question which could not

be answered to please both the Illinois Democrats and the slavery leaders of the South. Lincoln told his friends that if Douglas answered the question he could never be President, and the prediction came true.[1]

THE STRUGGLE AROUND THE ENGINE HOUSE AT HARPER'S FERRY

Inspired by his hatred of slavery, and determined to call the attention of the whole world to his position, John Brown with eighteen followers siezed the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, one Sunday night in October, 1859, took possession of the town, and held some of its citizens as hostages. Others of the townspeople quickly armed themselves and killed some of Brown's men. The next day a company of marines under Robert E. Lee came from Washington to restore order. They drove Brown and his six remaining followers into the engine house of the town, but Brown would not surrender until his two remaining sons were killed, and he himself badly wounded. His mad act stirred up a storm of sentiment in all sections. In the South he was bitterly denounced, but Northern armies were to march to battle singing "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

John Brown's Raid. While the atmosphere was charged with such intense feeling on the question of slavery, there came a thunderbolt which wakened the whole country to the approaching crisis. In 1859, John Brown of Kansas fame, a fanatic in his bitter hatred of slavery, planned to strike down that evil by arming the slaves to fight for their freedom. With a few followers, he attacked the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry to get ammunition, expecting many sympathizers to flock to his assistance. The negroes failed to respond, Brown was soon captured, convicted of murder and treason, and hanged.

[1] The question was as follows: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas gave a long answer which amounted to "Yes." This answer, of course, was very displeasing to pro-slavery men.

The Southerners, with the memory of Nat Turner's insurrection (see page 295) still in mind, were horrified at this bold attempt to arouse the blacks to rebellion. They poured out their wrath on the Northern abolitionists who spoke of Brown as a martyr in a worthy cause. The more sensible people of the North were quick to condemn an act for which there could be no justification. The effect of the incident was to make plainer the breach which already existed between the pro-slavery South and the anti-slavery North.

Split in Democratic Party. This breach even divided the Democratic party. When its convention met in Charleston, South Carolina, to nominate a candidate for President in 1860, the fact that Douglas controlled a majority of the delegates was evident. Thereupon, the Southern leaders, hating Douglas because they had lost Kansas, and preferring disunion to any further compromise on slavery, withdrew from the convention. Later, the Southern Democrats met and named John Breckinridge of Kentucky as their candidate, while the Northern Democrats chose Stephen Douglas as their standard bearer.

The Republican Platform and Candidate. The Republican party adopted a platform beginning " All men are created equal," and selected Abraham Lincoln for the first place on the ticket.

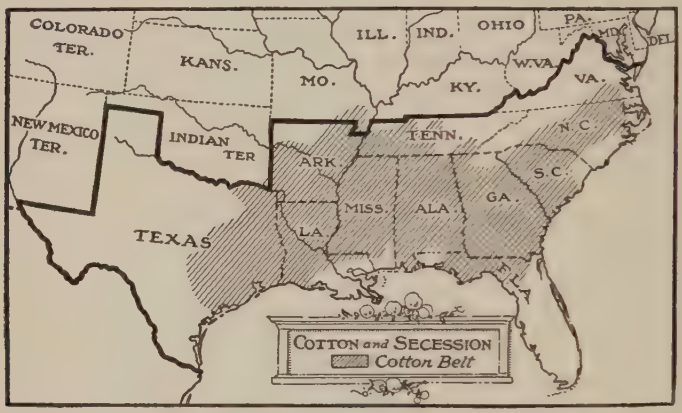
The Constitutional Union Party. A considerable group of people who still believed that it might be possible to arrange a compromise, organized a new party, called the Constitutional Union party, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

Southern Threats of Secession. During the campaign, the Southern leaders repeatedly said they would secede if Lincoln were elected; but the threats were not taken seriously in the North. When the votes were counted in November, it was found that Lincoln had carried every Northern state (except a part of New Jersey) and was elected.

The question of the right of a state to secede from the Union had often been discussed but never settled. Those who believed in this right declared that the United States was a union of sovereign states, each of which had the right to withdraw at any time. They pointed to the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions,

to the action of the Hartford Convention of 1815, and to the Nullification Ordinance of 1832 in South Carolina, as evidences that their theory had long been accepted and acted upon.

As a reason why secession in 1860 was right and proper, the Southern leaders pointed to the great importance of cotton to the world, the impossibility of growing cotton without slave labor, and the increasing hostility of the North to slavery. They fully believed that slavery could not exist much longer in the Union, and they preferred to give up the Union rather than slavery.



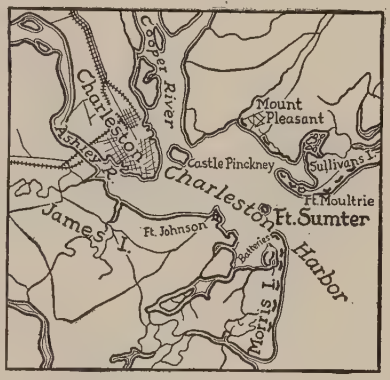
The shaded area indicates the cotton belt, according to the United States census of 1860. The heavy line is the boundary of the states that seceded. The relation between the two is obvious.

The Case Against Secession. Those who did not believe that a state had the right to secede found their strongest arguments in Daniel Webster's speech in reply to Hayne (see page 281). They argued that the people were the real sovereigns, for whom both state and national governments were only agents; and since the whole was greater than any of its parts, no part had a right to withdraw without the consent of all.

Actual Secession. With the election of Lincoln in 1860 the question of secession soon ceased to be a theory; it became a fact. No sooner was the result of the election known than South Carolina called a convention, and proceeded to adopt an ordi-

nance of secession (Dec. 20, 1860). By the 1st of the next February, six other states, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed South Carolina's lead. During that month, these states adopted a constitution for the "Confederate States of America," elected Jefferson Davis, who had been Secretary of War in Pierce's Cabinet, as President, and invited the other slave states to join them.[1]

Buchanan's Weakness. The fact of secession brought the nation face to face with the crisis. Buchanan, who was still President, was "an old man worn out with worry," and "as incapable of purpose as a child." He did not know what to do, and for the most part did nothing. The federal garrison at Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston asked for supplies which were sent on a merchant ship, *Star of the West.* But when the South Carolina authorities fired on the vessel, compelling her to turn back without delivering the supplies, Buchanan made no further efforts to send them.



The determination of President Lincoln to hold Fort Sumter led to an attack, April 13, 1861, which marks the beginning of the Civil War.

A Period of Indecision. The Northern leaders had never taken the threat of secession seriously, and when the Southern states actually seceded were dumbfounded. Some were in favor of letting "the erring sisters go in peace;" while others suggested some new form of compromise. The most important of these plans was one proposed by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky for an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing Federal protection to slavery south of the Missouri Compromise line. It soon became known that Lincoln was opposed to such a plan and the compromise failed.

[1] Later, in 1861, after war became inevitable, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas also seceded and joined the Confederacy.

For four weary months after the election, the country waited for the 4th of March and the inauguration of Lincoln as President. In that period, the South organized its new government, seized most of the Federal property within its borders and prepared for whatever struggle might come.

Lincoln's Inaugural Pledge. In his inaugural address, Lincoln pledged himself not to interfere directly or indirectly with slavery in the states where it then existed; he promised to help enforce the fugitive slave law; and he declared he would maintain the Union. "No state," said he, "upon its own motion can lawfully get out of the Union. . . . To the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. . . . In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority." The address showed a kindly feeling throughout, but it was very firm in upholding the right of the national government.

FORT SUMTER

Fort Sumter was one of the two federal forts within the domain of the seceded states that remained in the hands of the national government when Lincoln was inaugurated. Major Anderson and his garrison of eighty-four men showed such a spirited intention to protect the place that the South Carolinian officials hesitated to strike the first blow.

The Firing on Fort Sumter. The problem of supplying the needs of the little garrison at Fort Sumter was one of the first which Lincoln was called upon to solve. There were still some who believed the wisest plan was to surrender the fort; but Lincoln understood his oath of office as President of the United States to require him to "protect and defend" the national property wherever located. So on the 9th of April a little fleet set sail to carry the needed supplies to Sumter.

Before it could arrive, however, the Confederate batteries on the shore began to fire on the fort,[1] and the fort batteries re-

[1] Fort Sumter was on an island in Charleston harbor.

sponded in kind. All day long on that fateful 13th of April the cannon boomed, until at last the fortress took fire, and Major Anderson was forced to haul down the Stars and Stripes.

The news of the firing on Fort Sumter acted as an electric shock through all the North. There was no longer any thought of peace. The flag of the Union had been fired upon, and the insult must be avenged. War had become inevitable.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH: A COMPARISON

I. Historical Relationship — *Fite, pp. 336–340*

A. DISTINCTIONS — *Thompson, pp. 293–301*
1. In motives for settlement.
2. In styles of living.
3. In products.
4. In systems of labor.

B. FORCES OF ATTRACTION
1. Common dangers.
2. Common experiences.

II. The Question of the Balance of Power

A. WITH REGARD TO TERRITORY
1. Status in 1860.
2. Probable future of the territories.

B. WITH REGARD TO POPULATION
1. Relationship in 1860.
2. Probable future.

III. Social Classes

A. IMPORTANCE OF THE NORTHERN MIDDLE CLASS

B. CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE SOUTH
1. The planter aristocracy.
2. The poor whites in the slaveowning districts.
3. The poor whites in the non-slaveowning districts.

IV. Industrial Resources — *Thompson, pp. 310–316*

A. OF THE SOUTH — *Tappan, pp. 47–53*
1. Kind.
2. Value.

B. OF THE NORTH
1. Variety.
2. Effect.

V. Geography of Sections

A. THE PROBABLE BATTLEFIELD

B. The RIVER HIGHWAYS

C. RAILROADS AND THEIR VALUE

D. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTHERN COASTLINE

VI. Comparison as to Governments *Fite, pp. 350–351*

A. The Confederacy an experiment
1. No established ways of doing things.
2. Lack of foreign relations.
3. Effect of war on necessity for increased powers.
4. Support of people.

B. The North an established power
1. Abroad.
2. At home.
3. Divisions among the people. (*a*) Election of 1864. (*b*) "Copperheads."

VII. Finances of the War

A. In the South
1. Failure of income from exports.
2. Lack of possibility for borrowing. (*a*) Abroad. (*b*) At home.
3. Paper money a last resource.

B. In the North
1. Taxing power of Congress. (*a*) Excise. (*b*) Tariff.
2. Bond issues.
3. Legal tender.

VIII. The Military Strength of the Sections *Hart, p. 308*

A. Calls for volunteers and response

B. The use of conscription
1. Northern opposition.

C. Comparative strength of armies in the field

IX. Moral Relationship *Fite, p. 342*

A. Mutual misunderstanding *Poems, pp. 410, 411*
1. Of ability.
2. Of motive.

B. Real relationship not apparent
1. Regard for Mt. Vernon.

Problems

TOPIC

II. Why did the Southerners think that the election of 1860 determined the future of the territories?

Since three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in the number that was the basis for representation, what reason had the South for fearing a Northern majority?

What arguments could you use to induce a desirable immigrant to settle in a slave state before the war?

IX. Was the Civil War the only solution for the slavery problem? Review Congress's efforts to establish a geographical boundary line between free and slave territory before giving your answer.

Fundamental Differences Between North and South. Civil war is the most awful affliction that a nation can be called upon to endure. Other calamities create mutual sympathy and strengthen the ties of kindred, but a civil war divides families and arrays neighbor against neighbor. Such a struggle is the product of deep-rooted causes which have developed slowly, and the final appeal to arms does not come until human patience has been worn thin.

In one sense the beginnings of the American Civil War were carried in the Mayflower and in the first vessels to land at Jamestown. The ideals of the Pilgrim fathers, and those of the Virginia "gentlemen," were as far apart as the poles and neither understood or appreciated the other.

Slave Quarters on a Southern Plantation

The types of society that grew up around these earliest settlements widened the differences between them. The New England town and the Virginia plantation demanded styles of living as unlike as could be. With the growth of slave labor these differences became more pronounced, and when the invention of the cotton gin made cotton the supremely profitable product of the South, the gulf between the two sections seemed almost impassable.

The Strength of the Bond of Union. There were other forces, however, which had served to draw the sections together. The mutual dangers that led to the Revolution; the unity necessary to make the Declaration of Independence effective; the cooperation which provided a new Constitution, and then made it work; and the business of conducting a successful government, had established a habit of relationship stronger than either side realized.

Effect of Unequal Growth. The element of jealousy played a very strong part in the determination of the slaveowning states to secede. While the actual number of square miles in the eighteen free states was smaller than the area of the fifteen slave states,

the election of 1860 showed clearly that the North had a majority of votes, and that it was determined to use them to prevent any further extension of slave territory. This meant that new states admitted to the Union would be free, and in time the North would be twice as powerful in the Senate as the South. Moreover the North had a larger population. In 1860 the relation was 5 to 3, and the Northern advantage was increasing yearly through immigration, while the Southern population was standing still. When Lincoln was elected, there were 147 Northern members and 90 Southern members in the House of Representatives. Southern leaders were convinced that if ever the slave-owning states expected to make a stand for their rights, the sooner they did it the better chance they would have.

Social Classes, North and South. Few people at that time appreciated the importance of the different class divisions of the two sections. The strength of the North was its great middle class. Its members were tradesmen, farmers, and mechanics, owning small farms or modest homes, and were sturdy, independent, loyal Americans. The South had a small planter aristocracy, and a large class of poor whites who could hope for no advancement as long as they had to compete with slave labor. The great majority of them failed to see this, however, and were as devoted to the maintaining of slavery as their wealthier neighbors. They feared that if the negro were free he would at once assume equality with them. In the mountain districts of the South where there were no slaves, there was no evidence of this fear and the whites opposed secession and favored the Union.

Industrial Resources of the Two Sections. The South had given herself over to the production of cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, and rice, crops for which a market must be found before she could buy the food and clothing she had to have. The North, on the other hand, had developed industries of such variety that she was practically self-supporting. When the time came to put soldiers in the field, the Union armies could be furnished with arms and ammunition, clothed from head to foot, sheltered and fed by the products of Union farms and factories.

The South the Battlefield of the War. In the beginning the

UNITED STATES in 1861 and SECESSION
Free Union States
States which seceded
Slave States which did not secede
Territories
Originally a part of Virginia, became the State of West Virginia in 1863 - (see text)
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
OREGON 1859
NEVADA TER.
CALIF.
UTAH TERRITORY
DAKOTA TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
COLORADO TERRITORY
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
KANSAS 1861
INDIAN TERRITORY
TEX.
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
FLA.
S.C.
N.C.
VA.
PA.
N.Y.
MAINE
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
R.I.
CONN.
DEL.

South asked for nothing more than the right to leave the Union, taking with her the Federal property that happened to be within her borders. President Lincoln believed it to be his duty to protect the property of the United States wherever it might be, and his determination to do so brought on actual warfare.

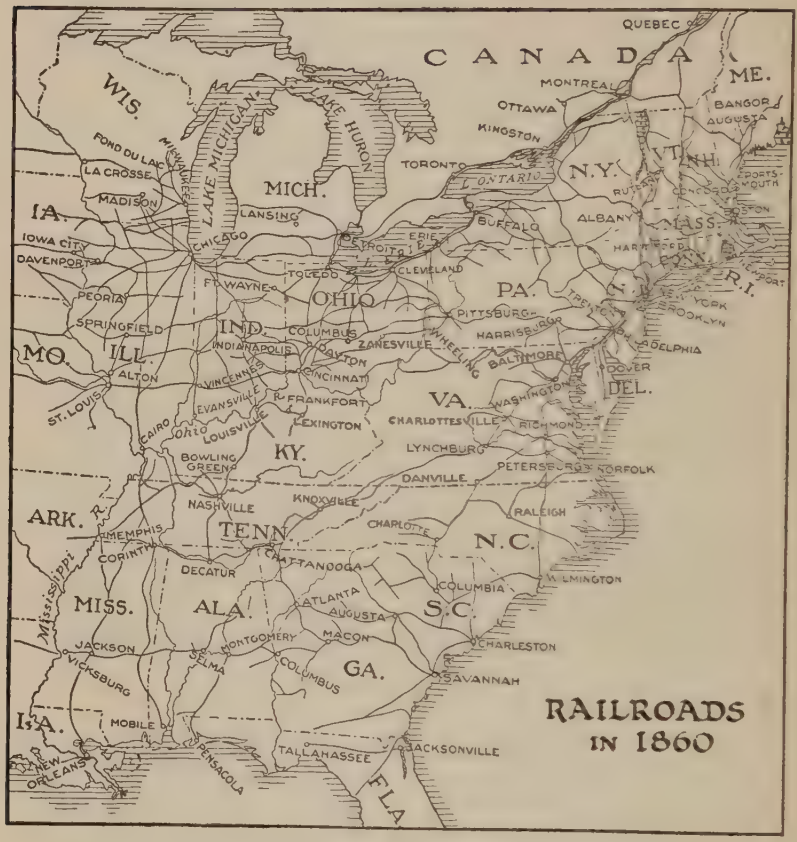
With the establishment of the Southern Confederacy and a center of government, however, the object of the Union forces changed. To capture Richmond and crush opposing Confederate forces became the dream of Union generals. To realize it they were forced to take account of the geography of the sections.

A Cotton Wharf at South Carolina

In the west, the southward-flowing Mississippi and the downward-sweeping Tennessee and Cumberland provided available highways into the very heart of the Confederacy. In the east, a network of rivers flowing down to the Atlantic made difficult an invasion by land, but offered some possibilities for operations from the seacoast. Of these advantages the North planned to avail herself. The advance of the Union forces into the territory of the Confederacy made it the battleground of the war, and gave the South the advantage of waging a war of defense against an invading enemy.

The Importance of Railroads. The bulky commodities pro-

duced by the South had made her satisfied to use river transportation. Consequently she had few railroads, and those which she had were not in first-class condition. The best of them were in



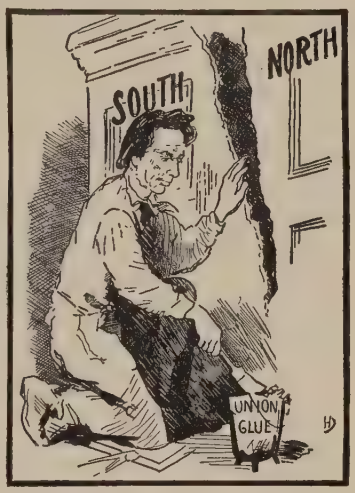
RAILROADS IN 1860

The scarcity of railroads in the South proved to be a serious handicap to the Confederacy in the Civil War.

the border states, and these were the first to fall into the hands of the invader. The North, on the other hand, had six times the amount of roadbed, and this and her rolling stock were in excellent condition for the quick transportation of troops and supplies.

Was the Southern Coast an Asset or a Liability. Whether the long Southern coast line would prove an advantage or not was a question. Southerners knew the danger of a blockade, but believed it would be impossible for the North to maintain one effectively. Yet there were comparatively few great harbors and Union navy men decided that the capture of these would make the blockade successful. The events of the war justified their reasoning.

The Confederate Government under the Stress of War. Politically the South was at a disadvantage because her government was an experiment. The Confederacy had no accepted ways of carrying on the work to be done; had no established foreign relations; and was bound by its constitution to a regard for personal and states' rights that would have been difficult to live up to in peace, and proved impossible to observe in time of war. The Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, in order to carry on the struggle, had to exercise powers far greater than those which his section had denounced the Union government for using.[1]



"A Job for a Cabinet Maker"

The Trials of President Lincoln. President Lincoln "had to stretch his power until it cracked," but he was representing an established government, respected at home and abroad, and therefore more capable of standing the strain. His problems were difficult and cares weighty, for there were many among the high officers who felt able and anxious to run the government for him, and many "copperheads" among the people, men with Southern sympathies, who were ready even for treason in order

[1] Both Presidents suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* (**62**) and permitted the imprisonment without trial of persons suspected of treason.

to discredit Lincoln and the war. At the end of his first term he was unanimously renominated by his party, but the Union Democrats, declaring the conduct of the war a failure, nominated an ex-general, who seemed a formidable opponent. The people had the good sense to stand by the President, and showed their faith in him, as Lincoln himself said, by "refusing to swap horses in the middle of the stream." Lincoln's reelection in 1864 was a great Northern victory.

Confederate Finances. It takes money to conduct a war. The South depended on the sale of exports for her income. Early in the war, the Union blockade made it difficult and finally impossible to get her cotton to market, and her people were soon short of cash. Heavy taxes were levied, but when money was gone they were hard to collect. Nor was it easier to borrow: the Southerners were soon without money to lend, and the Confederacy had no foreign credit. There was plenty of food, but other needful things could only be had when there was something to exchange for them. In this crisis, great quantities of paper money were issued; but as they had nothing back of them except the Confederate government's promise to pay, these "shin plasters" depreciated until they were worth almost nothing.[1]

Northern Finances. The raising of a war revenue in the North was a matter of congressional action. Internal taxes were levied, tariff duties were increased, new western lands were opened up to settlement, and the new settlers not only enriched the national treasury by the purchase price and subsequent taxes, but added to the food supply by bringing the unproductive fields under cultivation. Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, proved able and efficient; bonds were issued and sold, although before the war was over, a very large rate of interest had to be offered to attract buyers. The North was also driven to a paper money issue. Congress undertook to secure circulation for these "greenbacks" by making them *legal tender*. In spite

[1] The story is told of a hungry Southern officer who offered a fifty-dollar "shin plaster" for a piece of fresh gingerbread. The old woman who had it for sale cut off a piece the size of the paper bill, grumbling as she did so that she was cheating herself at that.

of this, they depreciated to less than half their face value and did not become worth 100 cents to a dollar until long after the war.

The Problem of Raising an Army. The industries at home and the finances of the war were only the background for the soldiers in the field. Both sections sent out a call for volunteers at the beginning of the war, and both sections had an enthusiastic and immediate response. Later both North and South found it necessary to use a conscription or draft for getting soldiers,[1] and the North had some serious difficulties with " draft riots," " bounty jumpers," and " substitutes."

Army Figures Compared. In the first year of the war the North had 186,000 soldiers in the field, to the South's 100,000. In January, 1864, the North had 860,000 to the South's 500,000. The Northern army figures included teamsters, cooks, and other camp workers, while duties of that kind in the Southern army were looked after by slaves who were not counted as part of the fighting force.

Mutual Misunderstanding. No material advantage or disadvantage played so important a part in causing or prolonging the war, however, as the mutual misunderstanding of the two sections. It was to take bitter warfare to prove to the South that the " Yankees " were not mere money grabbers, and to the North that the " Rebels " were not mere slave drivers. The last echoes of the guns had died away many years before either side was willing to admit that the other was fighting for an ideal, the North's a dominant Union, the South's a supreme State. In the bitterness of actual Civil War it seemed unlikely that a united nation could ever rise out of that fierce conflict.

Union Amidst Disunion. Yet a mute evidence that such was to be the case was always in view in the very heart of the bitterest battleground of the war. Washington's home, Mount Vernon, lay peaceful and untroubled while the battle lines beat about it

[1] Each state had to furnish the quota of soldiers assigned to it by the war department. If the volunteer enlistments fell short of this number, the names of all able-bodied men between 20 and 45, with certain exceptions, were put in a box and drawn out in lottery fashion. For a time men could avoid service by paying $300 or hiring a substitute. The states often offered "bounties" for enlistment to make up their quotas.

on all sides. Neither army attempted to occupy it, and neither blue nor gray soldier molested it. A keen-witted French aide asked the Secretary of State which side "controlled" Mount Vernon. "Neither," was the shocked answer, "it is of course neutral ground." The visitor understood perfectly. "You may be enemies now," he said, "but in the end you will have union and peace."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CIVIL WAR

I. Causes of the War (Review)

A. Two interpretations of the Constitution

B. Climate and products fastened slavery on the South

II. The Call to Arms *Hart, p. 303*

A. The breaking point

B. Lincoln's proclamation *Fite, pp. 352–353*

1. Response.
2. Kind of soldiers.

C. Davis's proclamation

1. Response.
2. Kind of soldiers.

D. The power of the contestants

E. The situation in the undecided states

1. Maryland. (*a*) The Baltimore riot (April 19, 1861).
2. West Virginia. (*a*) Work of McClellan. (*b*) Establishment as a separate state.
3. Missouri. (*a*) Influence of the Germans.
4. Kentucky. (*a*) Avowed "neutrality."

III. Plan of the War *Fite, pp. 356–357*

A. To capture Richmond

B. To get control of the Mississippi

C. To establish a blockade

IV. The First Two Years of War in the East *Hart, p. 305*

A. Bull Run (July 21, 1861) *Poems, p. 415*

1. Caused by impatience of North.
2. Results. (*a*) Southern army demoralized by victory. (*b*) North dismayed but determined. (*c*) Change in commanders and policy.

B. The Peninsular Campaign

1. The commanders. (*a*) McClellan, Lee, and Jackson.
2. The Seven Days' Fighting (June 26–July 2, 1862). (*a*) Recall of McClellan (Aug. 23, 1862).
3. Second Battle of Bull Run (Aug. 29–30, 1862). (*a*) Result.

C. Antietam (Sept. 17, 1862)
1. Importance.
2. Appointment of Burnside.

D. Battle of Fredericksburg (Dec. 13, 1862)
1. Hooker in command.

E. Situation at close of 1862

V. The First Two Years of War in the West *Poems, p. 456*

A. The struggle for Kentucky *Hart, p. 313*
1. Location of combatants.
2. Battle of Fort Donelson (Feb. 13–16, 1862). (*a*) Results.

B. The struggle for Tennessee
1. Battle of Shiloh (April 6, 1862).

C. Capture of New Orleans (April 25, 1862)

D. The Western situation

VI. The Blockade *Poems, p. 466*

A. Effect on Southern claims for nationality

B. Great Britain's attitude
1. Recognition of *belligerency*.
2. The "*Trent* Affair" (Nov. 8, 1861).
3. The *Alabama* (July 29, 1862).

C. The Southern necessity for a market
1. Effect of blockade on prices.
2. "Blockade Runners."
3. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* (Mar. 8–9, 1862).

D. Final success

VII. The Question of Slavery *Hart, p. 315*

A. Attitude of Union generals *Fite, pp. 363–367*
1. The slave as "contraband."

B. Attitude of President *Poems, p. 500*

C. Legislation
1. Confiscation Act (Aug., 1861).
2. Slavery abolished in District of Columbia and the territories.
3. Emancipation Proclamation. (*a*) Preliminary — Sept. 22, 1862. (*b*) Final — Jan. 1, 1863.
4. Effect. (*a*) At home. (*b*) Abroad.

VIII. Second Two Years of War in the West *Hart, p. 320*

A. Fall of Vicksburg (July 4, 1863)

B. Chickamauga (Sept. 19–20, 1863)
1. The "Rock of Chickamauga."

C. Chattanooga — Rosecrans, Bragg
1. Lookout Mountain — Hooker (Nov. 24, 1863).
2. Missionary Ridge — Grant (Nov. 25, 1863).

D. Fall of Atlanta (Sept. 2, 1864)

E. Sherman's March to the Sea (Nov. 15–Dec. 20, 1864)
1. Tactics.
2. Savannah.

IX. Last Two Years of War in the East *Hart, p. 323, 329*

A. The Army of the Potomac *Poems, p. 435*
1. Chancellorsville (May 1–4, 1863).
2. Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863).

B. Change in commanders and in policy
1. Grant and Sherman's "Hammering Campaign."
2. Object.

C. The Northern offensive
1. Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–21, 1864).

D. The Southern counter-offensive
1. Early's raid (July 5–Oct. 19, 1864).
2. Sheridan's defense (Aug. 28–Oct. 19, 1864).

E. The struggle concentrated
1. Occupation of Richmond (Apr. 3, 1865).
2. Appomattox Courthouse (Apr. 9, 1865). (*a*) Conditions in the South. (*b*) Terms of surrender.

X. What the War Did *Van Loon, pp. 407–410*

A. With regard to the two interpretations of the Constitution *Fite, pp. 385–386*

B. With regard to slavery *Tappan, pp. 140–146*

C. In teaching people to work together *Poems, p. 539*

D. Lincoln's leadership

Problems

TOPIC

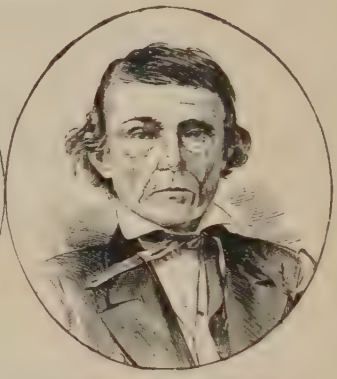
I. Name events in our nation's history that prove there were differences of opinion with regard to the meaning of the Constitution.
Trace the development of slavery up to the Civil War.

Slavery

The Army in Blue. With the firing on Fort Sumter, rebellion in words became rebellion in deeds. After that occurrence the only way to save the Union was by armed force. President Lincoln issued a proclamation, April 14, 1861, calling for 75,000 volunteers. Before the lists could be closed 90,000 patriotic Union men had entered the service. They came from the shops and the fields and the stores, the majority of them without military experience of any kind. Their term of enlistment was only three months, yet every volunteer soldier was securely confident that the rebels could be utterly crushed in that period.

The Army in Gray. A similar proclamation was issued by Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and it met with a similar response. South of the Mason and Dixon line, there was just as much assurance that it would take a very little while to overcome the Yankees. Perhaps there was a shade more reason for this confidence. Southern men were out-of-door men, trained to the use of the gun through hunting. Many of them had seen service in the Mexican War, and they were particularly fortunate in having a large number of West Point graduates available for officers.

JEFFERSON DAVIS,
1808–1889

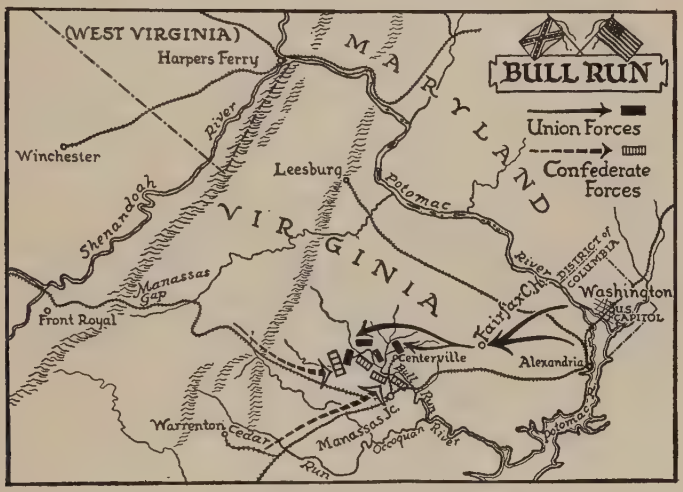


ALEXANDER STEPHENS,
1812–1883

President and Vice-President of the Confederate States of America.

Importance of Maryland. Each side was sure its cause was the righteous one. Both were eager to secure the support of the border slave states that had not seceded. Maryland was especially important because of the location of Washington. When the first Northern troops passed through Baltimore on the way to the capital, there was a serious riot. But as the war went on, and Maryland became the passageway for Union troops going south, and as she saw the suffering of Virginia, the natural meeting place of the opposing armies, she became less and less in favor of secession. In 1862 she passed a law setting her slaves free, and throughout the war furnished a fair share of troops and supplies for the Union government.

West Virginia a Union State. Western Virginia, because of its soil and products, had never been a slaveowning district, Thirty-five counties refused to secede, organized a government which they insisted was the true Virginia government, and which Congress recognized as such, and then set themselves off as a separate state which was admitted to the Union (1863) as West Virginia. A very unusual young army officer, George B.



The Union forces marching south from Washington met the Confederates at a little creek, known as Bull Run. By means of an encircling movement and a flank attack, the Union armies seemed about to win the victory, when fresh Confederate troops arrived by way of the Manassas Gap railroad.

McClellan, was in charge of the district during this period, and deserved the fame he won by holding that part of the state true to the Union.

The Loyalty of Missouri. Sympathy for the Southern cause was strong in many parts of Missouri, and for a time it was a question whether there were enough Union men to prevent secession. One section, however, proved to be obstinately loyal. A large number of liberty-loving German immigrants who had been driven from their native land by the Revolution of 1848,

had settled around St. Louis. They did not own slaves, and their influence on the side of the Union was enough to save the state from secession.

Kentucky's "Neutrality." Kentucky declared herself *neutral.* While this was not secession, it was evidence of a belief in states' rights that was little better. It was clear that a military occupancy would be the most convincing argument, and both sides hurried armies to the state.

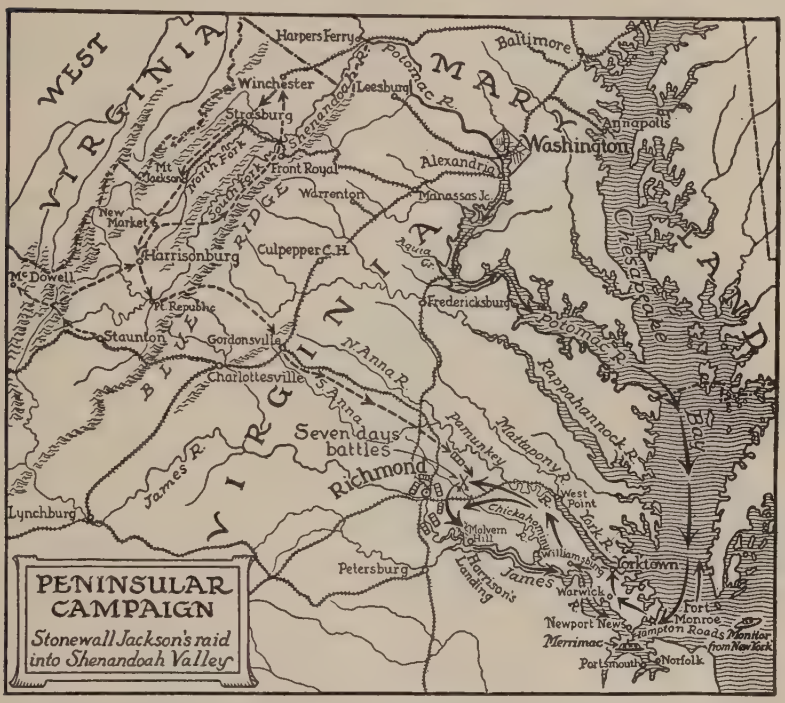
The Plan of the War. The Northern desire to crush the Confederacy led to the formation of a very simple plan of war: (1) the Union Army of the Potomac was to move southward,

"A School for Soldiers"
McClellan drilling the army.

capture Richmond, and crush any Confederate forces in Virginia; (2) the Army of the West was to push into Kentucky, then, in cooperation with Union gunboats, to get possession of the Mississippi, thus cutting the Confederacy in two, and making it possible to crush the two parts separately; (3) a strict blockade of the Southern coast was to be established and maintained.

Bull Run and Its Results. General Winfield Scott, a Virginian by birth and a veteran of the Mexican War, was in command of the Northern military forces. He knew how unready they were for service, and yet he was beset on all sides by demands that he move on the enemy and get the war over with. He yielded reluctantly and the army of the North moved into Virginia. The district is a network of streams running down to

the ocean. The banks of any of these made an advantageous location for a Southern army to receive the Northern invaders. The Southern army made its first stand at Bull Run, and after



After the defeat of the Merrimac by the Monitor in March, 1862, McClellan moved his army by transport to the peninsula between the York and James rivers. He took Yorktown, and moved up the peninsula until he was only five miles from Richmond. Then after the Seven Days' battles, he retreated to Harrison's Landing. Meantime, Stonewall Jackson led a raid into the Shenandoah valley and threatened Washington. McClellan returned to protect the capital.

hard fighting the Union forces were driven from the field [1] in a disgraceful panic, and ran pell-mell back to Washington.

[1] At one stage of the battle, Thomas Jonathan Jackson's Confederate troops stood the attack so solidly that someone called attention to the fact that "Jackson was standing like a stone wall." This general, known thereafter as Stonewall Jackson, became one of the best loved heroes of the South.

The victory was a dangerous one for the South. Convinced now that "one Southerner was the equal of five Yanks," a large number of its soldiers calmly went home. The war was over, they thought. Discipline relaxed and conditions became dangerous.

The North was dismayed and humiliated by its defeat, but was more determined than ever to win. The aged General Scott was allowed to retire and McClellan was called to take command of the Army of the Potomac. He established a camp and began drilling the men for actual service. Regardless of urging, McClellan spent the necessary amount of time getting ready to fight.

"Stonewall Jackson"

General Jackson believed in leading his men into action. The picture shows him traveling over a "plank road," a type considered very desirable in the South at that time.

The Peninsular Campaign. When he believed his army ready, he planned a *peninsular campaign.* He moved his troops by transport, down the Chesapeake bay to the peninsula between the James and the York rivers, and then began an overland march to Richmond by this backdoor route. It was an excellent plan to which President Lincoln had given his approval. By hard fighting McClellan pushed up the peninsula until he came within sight of the church spires of Richmond. To divert his attention, a Southern detachment under "Stonewall" Jackson was sent into northern Virginia as if it intended to attack Washington. The politicians in the capital became frightened and persuaded Lincoln to recall McClellan to the defense of the city.

The Invasion of Maryland. A part of the Northern army came into conflict with the Confederates in a second battle at Bull Run. The Union forces were again defeated, though without the resulting panic that had disgraced the former battle. Overjoyed by the failure of the first Northern offensive, the South prepared to move into enemy territory. Robert E. Lee,[1] the greatest soldier the South produced, was in command of the Southern forces. He led a very gay and confident army over the Virginia border, an army that sang "Maryland, My Maryland" with serene faith that, once the army in gray was on her soil, that state would soon join the Confederacy. Marylanders thought otherwise, and were soon justified in their hesitancy, for McClel-

Robert E. Lee
1807–1870

[1] Robert E. Lee was born in famous Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1807. His family had been distinguished in the history of that state from early colonial days. Although loyal patriots during the Revolution, the Lees were always states' rights men, and the boy Robert grew up in an atmosphere of devotion to the commonwealth of Virginia.

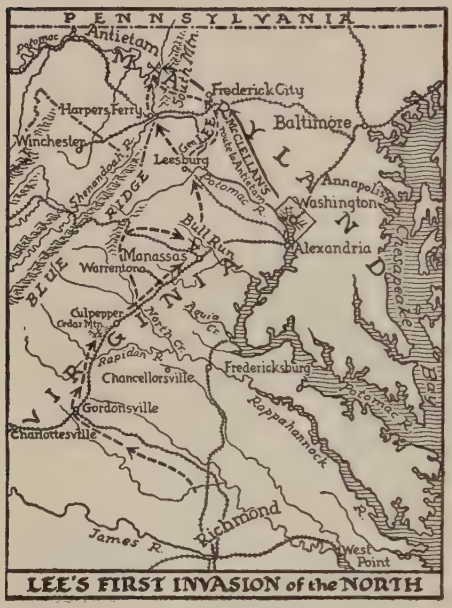
He was one of the honor men in his class at West Point, and on graduating was assigned at once to the engineer corps. By the end of the Mexican War, he had won such fame that General Scott described him as "the finest soldier in the country."

Lee was opposed to secession, and as late as January, 1861, wrote, "I can contemplate no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union." Yet when his state joined the Confederacy, he considered that the act carried him along as a citizen of Virginia, and many years afterwards said, "I could have taken no other course save with dishonor, and if it were all gone over again, I should act in precisely the same way."

General Lee ranks among the great military geniuses of history, but his memory is especially honored by all Americans for his splendid conduct after the war. Defeat did not make him bitter, and he used his great influence to help others accept the results of the struggle with the same wisdom and courage.

He gave all his attention to education, for, said the great Confederate leader, "I have led the young men of the South in battle. I have seen many

lan [1] was able to check the invaders at Antietam and send them back into Virginia. The battle was the first approach to a Northern victory in the East, and so was highly important for its moral effect. It might have had a greater military value if it had been followed up. McClellan, with characteristic slowness, failed to do this, and as a result he was removed from command. General Ambrose E. Burnside succeeded him.



After the failure of the Peninsular Campaign, Lee moved northward, defeated a Union army at Bull Run, and then marched into Maryland. At Antietam, he was defeated by McClellan and turned back into Virginia.

Fredericksburg. Since McClellan had failed to give satisfaction because of his unwillingness to fight, Burnside proposed to make no such mistake. Fredericksburg was a well garrisoned Confederate stronghold guarded by high cliffs. General Burnside attempted to take the city, and hurled his men on the heights at the cost of a frightful slaughter. The attack was a failure, and

of them die on the field. I shall devote all my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life."

Many flattering positions were offered General Lee after the war, but he refused them to accept the presidency of the almost unknown Washington College at Lexington, Virginia. At first it had four professors and forty students, but under his guidance it became a flourishing institution. Out of gratitude to its famous president, it was rechristened the Washington and Lee University.

[1] George B. McClellan in his early life and experience was one of fortune's favorites. He was born of a well-to-do Philadelphia family, and graduated from West Point just in time to serve with distinction in the Mexican War.

Burnside was removed from command. "Fighting Joe" Hooker was his successor.

Results of Two Years' Fighting in the East. At the close of the first two years of the war in the East, the North had made no important gain. It had checked a threatened invasion, but only through the use of an overwhelming force. In every other considerable conflict, the Union had been defeated. Had the Eastern battle front been the only place of activity, the outlook would have been almost hopeless.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN
1826–1885

Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. Along the Mississippi, however, matters were much better for the Northern cause. Hoping to hold Kentucky, a Southern line of defense had been stretched across its southern part from the Mississippi to Cumberland Gap. A division of the Army of the West under an almost

Later he taught at West Point, took a prominent part in a western exploring expedition, and was sent by the government to the Crimean War as an observer of military tactics.

At the beginning of the Civil War he commanded the Union forces in West Virginia, and for his successes there he was called to take charge of the Army of the Potomac, after its first defeat at Bull Run.

McClellan organized and drilled that army until it became a splendid military organization, the nucleus of the army which dealt the final crushing blow of the war.

In actual battle, however, McClellan proved weak. He was frequently accused of being overcareful and of failing to follow up his advantages when he gained them. Because of these accusations he was removed from command, and although this did not affect his patriotism, it did cause a very bitter hatred for the administration. McClellan was a very willing but unsuccessful presidential candidate in 1864 for the party opposing the war. In his later life he became a prominent figure in New Jersey state politics, and served one term as the governor of that state, with great distinction. He died in 1885.

unknown officer, Ulysses S. Grant, had smashed this line at its two most important points, the forts guarding the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, great highways to the heart of the Confederacy. The surrender of these forts, Henry and Donelson, was the first victory of the North, and everywhere people were quoting the message sent the Southern commander by the attacking general, "No terms but an immediate and unconditional surrender; I propose to move on your fortifications at once." "Unconditional Surrender" Grant was the hero of the day.

Shiloh. The Confederate line of defense was re-formed across southern Tennessee, and was again broken by Grant's forces at the battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing. The Confederates were then forced to surrender Memphis. Shortly afterwards, when Admiral Farragut took New Orleans, the "Father of Waters," as Lincoln put it, "could flow almost unvexed to the sea." The "almost" was Vicksburg. This city and Chattanooga were the only two important Western points held by the South at the end of the first two years of fighting.

UNION GUNBOATS ON THE CUMBERLAND

First Effect of the Blockade. With regard to the actual carrying on of the war the *blockade* was the most important Northern effort. It weakened the legal position of the government, however. The North had maintained that no state could withdraw from the Union. If no state could do so, no state had done so. A nation does not blockade its own ports. In time of war it may blockade the ports of an enemy nation. When the United States established a blockade of Southern ports, it acknowledged by that act that the South was an enemy nation.

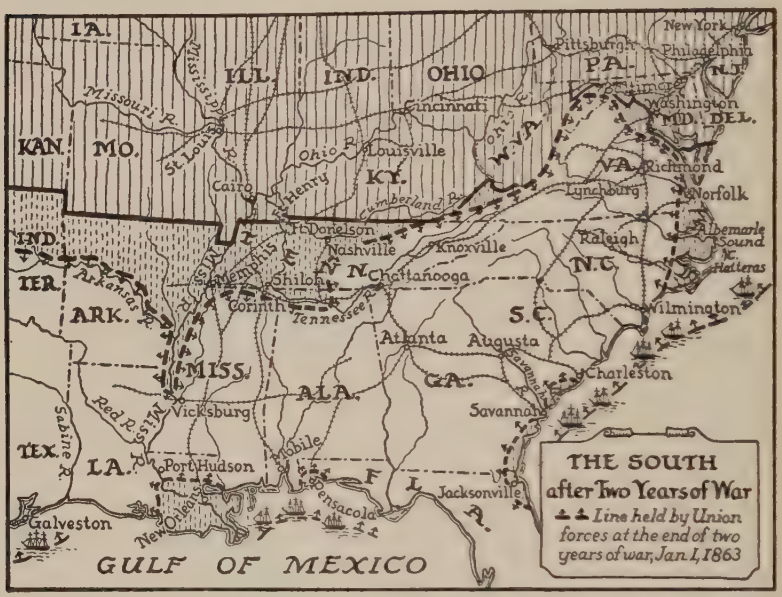
British Sympathy for the South. This situation gave Great Britain an excuse for a formal recognition of the *belligerency* of the South. That was a step toward British recognition of the independence of the Confederacy, and might easily have brought

on war with the North. The South had counted on English sympathy, because of England's need for raw cotton, and because the English aristocracy had a much keener sympathy for the planter class of the South than for the business and professional classes that seemed to them to make up the North.

The *Trent* Affair. British antagonism to the Union cause was strengthened by an unfortunate incident in the first year of the war. The Confederate government had appointed two commissioners, Mason and Slidell, to the courts of England and France. The two men succeeded in getting over to a West Indian port, and were then taken on board the British mail steamer *Trent*, bound for Liverpool. The commander of a Union warship learned of this passage, located the *Trent*, stopped it by a gunshot, and took off the two Confederates. This "insult" to the English flag roused the anger of the British. They indignantly de-

From Forts Henry and Donelson, Grant moved his army southward to Shiloh where he was joined by Buell. Foote's gunboats fought their way down the Mississippi while Farragut came up the river past New Orleans.

manded the surrender of the two men and an acceptable apology. President Lincoln did both because the United States was clearly in the wrong, and because he did not wish to provoke another war. In a clever fashion he reminded the British government that the seizure was really "impressment," a principle which



By January 1, 1863, the Union forces had captured most of the Mississippi River and occupied large areas of Arkansas and Tennessee. Numerous coast towns had been taken, and all the ports which the Confederates still held were closely blockaded.

the British had seemed to believe in before the War of 1812, and which the Americans had always opposed.

The *Alabama*. Another evidence of the unfriendliness of Great Britain was the indifference of the government to the actual building of ships for the South in British-owned shipyards. One, the *Alabama*, a privateer, was allowed to get to sea and for many months did serious damage to Northern shipping. Several years later a commission decided that Great Britain should pay the United States fifteen million dollars for the damages done

to Union trade by this British-built and British-equipped boat.[1]

Effect of the Blockade on Prices. As the lines of blockade were drawn tighter, the Southerners began to see the weakness of "King Cotton." Their great crop was only valuable when they could sell it for money with which to buy the necessities of life. The purchase price meant food, clothing, shelter, and what became increasingly more important, medicine. At first the Confederates built long, low, gray boats that could slip through the morning and evening mists to the West Indies, and there find a ready market for their goods, and return, loaded with the necessities the South needed so sorely. But Northern blockade ships became more and more expert at capturing these blockade runners, until finally there were none left. Prices in the South soared. Before the end of the war woolen goods could not be bought, and Southern women cut up their carpets to make blankets for the soldiers at the front.

The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. Only once did the South have any real hope of defeating the purpose of the blockade from within. The *Merrimac*, a Northern vessel, had been sunk in Hampton Roads to prevent its falling into Southern hands. Southern enterprise raised it, however, and by covering it with iron plates produced the first ironclad in history. So protected, the *Merrimac* proceeded to the destruction of Northern wooden ships, and unharmed by their cannon balls, in one day leisurely destroyed two of them. The next day, returning to its task, it was met by the queerest ship ever found afloat, "a cheese box on a raft," one sailor called it. This was the *Monitor*, the first Yankee ironclad.[2] Its revolving gun turret poured a constant

[1] It is permissible for private individuals in a neutral country to sell munitions of war to warring nations, at their own risk. It is not permissible for a neutral nation to permit the outfitting of enemy ships in its harbors. The *Alabama* was built in one British harbor and its outfit prepared in another and then taken to the high seas for combination. The commission ruled, however, that this constituted an evasion of the law and that the violation was as real as if the operation had been completed in the port.

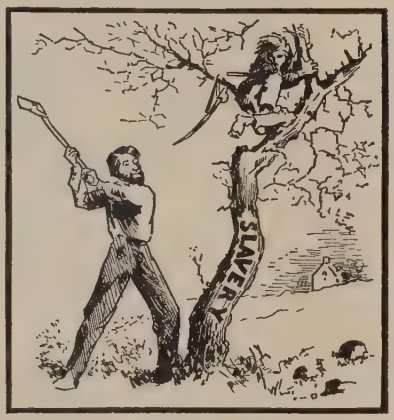
[2] The *Monitor* was designed and built by John Ericsson, a Swede who was living in New York. During his lifetime he patented many inventions, among them a screw propeller and a new type of engine for steamships. His inventions helped to bring about a revolution in ocean navigation by substituting ironclads for wooden vessels.

THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC

This battle marked the beginning of a new era in shipbuilding. The day of the wooden vessel was past.

volley at its enemy in a duel that kept up for four hours. Neither vessel could harm the other, but the *Merrimac's*[1] engines gave way, and its plates were sprung by the fury of the cannonade. The vessel withdrew to the shelter of the Norfolk navy yard and was finally destroyed to prevent capture.

Success of the Blockade. With the failure of the *Merrimac*, the last hope of the Confederacy perished, although the result was not clear for some time. The blockade became more and more effective, port after port was taken, and the South, thrown more and more on her own resources, found that raw cotton was neither clothing, ammunition, nor medical supplies.



Lincoln's Last Warning

Slaves as Contraband of War. The food resources of the Confederacy depended on the slaves. While the citizens fought, the slaves kept up the plantations. They were also used for the upkeep work of the camp. Union generals saw this, and several of them took possession of any slaves they could capture as "contraband of war." Lincoln would not approve this ruling because he always insisted that he had no legal right to interfere with slavery in the states in which it existed. When Congress passed the *Confiscation Act of 1861*, Union officers were given the right to confiscate all slaves being used in actual war work. Many slaves taken under this act turned soldiers themselves, and fought for the North during the rest of the war. Congress later passed measures abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and the feeling that slavery should be completely abolished grew constantly stronger.

[1] The Confederates rechristened the boat the *Virginia* and it is often known by this name.

AN ARTIST'S IDEA OF LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET AT THE SIGNING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

In Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln," the President is quoted as saying, when the cabinet came together to discuss the measure: "I have considered everything that has been said to me about the expediency of emancipation, and have made up my mind to issue this proclamation, and I have invited you to come together, not to discuss what is to be done, but to have you hear what I have written, and to get your suggestions about form and style."

The Emancipation Proclamation. In the summer of 1862 President Lincoln prepared a proclamation of emancipation, but after a discussion in his Cabinet, decided to hold it until after a Northern victory. Following the battle of Antietam it was published. It was not a proclamation of Lincoln as *President of the United States*, but of Lincoln as *Commander-in-Chief of the American Army*. In other words, it was a war measure. It gave the rebellious districts warning that one hundred days from that date, September 22, 1862, the slaves would be set free in all the states then in rebellion against the United States. On January 1, 1863, a final proclamation was published, carrying out the promise of the first one.

THE OPENING of the MISSISSIPPI

Vicksburg resisted the attacks of the Union forces for many months. An encircling movement, carried out by Grant, cut off the supplies from the city, and at last the Confederates surrendered, July 4, 1863. Port Hudson was captured soon after, and the whole Mississippi was in the hands of the Union forces.

Its Effect in America. The measure made no particular difference in this country. The South, not recognizing the authority of Lincoln, paid no attention to it, though it confirmed the belief that his promise not to interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed was of no importance.[1] Northern anti-slavery men were glad to have their

[1] It must be borne in mind that the Emancipation Proclamation did not abolish slavery in the United States. That was not done until the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment by the requisite number of states.

cause advanced, while many who thought the war was wrong anyway, felt that this was the crowning mistake.

Its Effect in Europe. The real importance of the proclamation was its effect abroad. Great Britain had long since abolished slavery, and could never engage in a war to preserve it. Nor could she give aid or sympathy to such a cause. The Emancipation Proclamation extinguished the South's last hope of British help.

Completion of the Mississippi River Campaign. In the summer of 1863 there was a determined effort in the West to complete

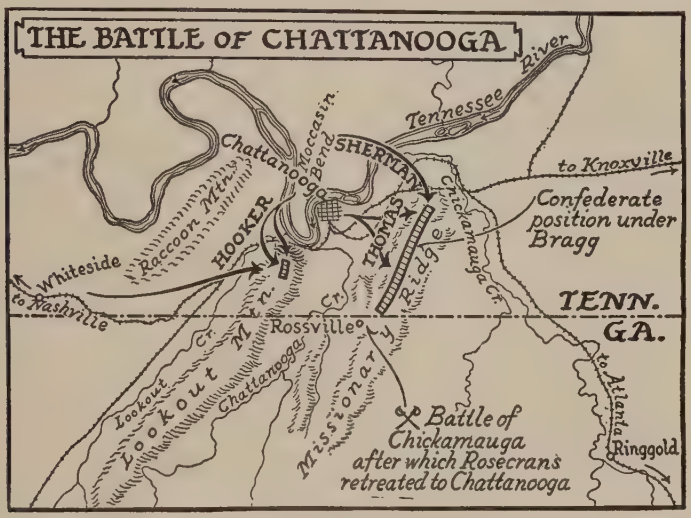
THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND ENCAMPED AT CHATTANOOGA
Lookout Mountain in the Distance.

the second part of the military plan. Vicksburg was besieged by Northern gunboats and by land forces under the command of Grant and Sherman. After three weeks of terrific cannonading, the city surrendered on the fourth of July. The Father of Waters could at last flow unvexed to the sea.

Chattanooga. Grant and Sherman then hurried to the relief of General Rosecrans, who with a large part of the Western army had got himself into a serious predicament in the city of Chattanooga. He had fallen back to this position after a defeat at Chickamauga which was only saved from being a disaster by the determined bravery of General Thomas and his division. Here Thomas won his title of the "Rock of Chickamauga," and saved the day

by blocking a flank attack that might otherwise have destroyed Rosecrans's entire army.

General Hooker was also sent from the Army of the Potomac with reinforcements for Rosecrans, and there occurred at Chattanooga one of the most thrilling battles of the war. The city is located in a hollow, and overlooking it are two mountain ridges which were held by Confederate forces. Grant took charge of

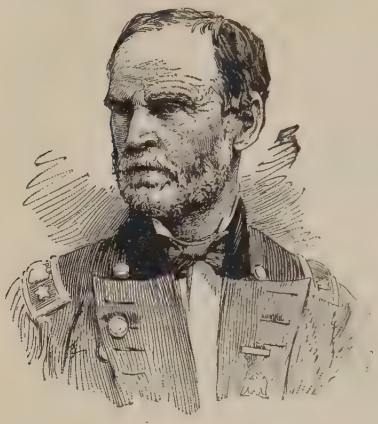


After his defeat at Chickamauga, Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga. The Confederate forces immediately occupied Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, overlooking the city. From this trap, the Union army was rescued by General Grant with the cooperation of Hooker, Sherman, and Thomas.

the Union armies. Under his direction Hooker's troops scaled the steep sides of Lookout Mountain, while Sherman and Thomas attacked Missionary Ridge. Both attacks were successful, and the army of Rosecrans was saved.

Sherman's March to the Sea. Grant was called to Washington after this victory, and given general command of the armies. Sherman was left in control of the Army of the West. Following a plan made by the two before they separated, Sherman marched from Chattanooga to Atlanta, captured that city, one of the most

important in the South, and then plunged into the wilderness, his objective the Atlantic coast. His army lived off the land and left a broad belt of desolation through the heart of the granary of the South. Sherman had cut himself off from all communication and possible help, and until he appeared before Savannah at the Christmas season almost nothing was known of his activity. That city fell and Sherman sent President Lincoln a message offering it to him as a Christmas present, a message that sent a thrill of relief and joy throughout the Union. From Savannah the triumphant Army of the West turned northward again. Its part of the program had been successfully carried out.



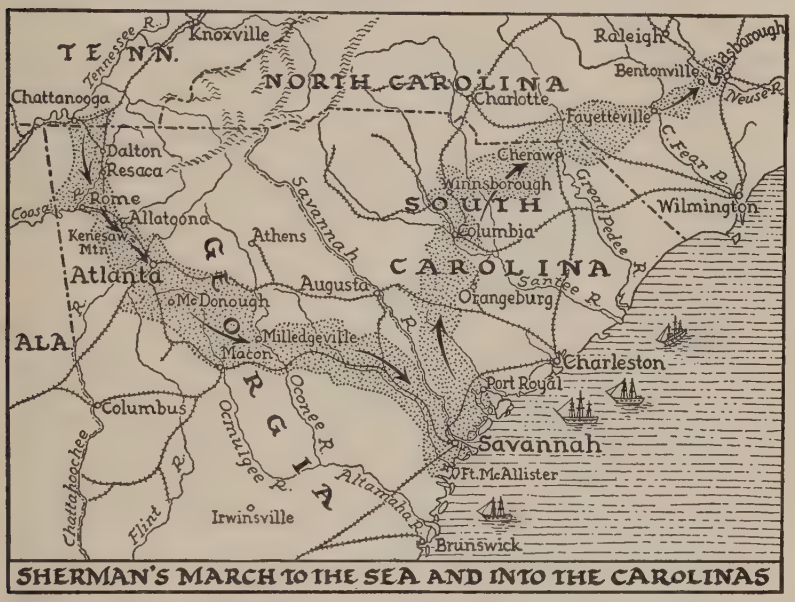
WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN, 1820–1891

Sherman graduated from West Point, but left the army after the Mexican War, and tried several different occupations. When the Civil War began he volunteered for service again, and was given a command, but became very unpopular for awhile because he predicted that it would take a force of 200,000 men to take and to hold Kentucky. His ability to win battles restored him to favor, and he became one of the best loved Union generals. In spite of the glory Sherman won for himself, he hated fighting. "War is cruelty," he said, "and you cannot refine it."

Gettysburg. While Grant was still trying to solve the problem of the capture of Vicksburg, General Hooker had fought a disastrous battle at Chancellorsville[1] in northern Virginia. As usual, following a Northern defeat, the Southern army moved northward. They crossed Maryland, and entered Pennsylvania, — the first actual

[1] Although the Confederates won the battle, they suffered an overwhelming loss in the death of the beloved leader "Stonewall" Jackson. He was wounded in the left arm and died as a result of the amputation. There were practically no medical supplies in the Southern army by this time, and Jackson refused to take an anæsthetic because, he said, "A lot of my poor boys need it more than I do."

invasion of Northern soil. The command of the Northern army was entrusted to General Meade, and the first three days of July, while Grant's guns were booming and Vicksburg was tottering to its fall, there occurred at Gettysburg the greatest and most critical battle of the war. North and South had found out the foolishness of any feeling of superiority by this time, and realized that they were about evenly matched. Their skill, their



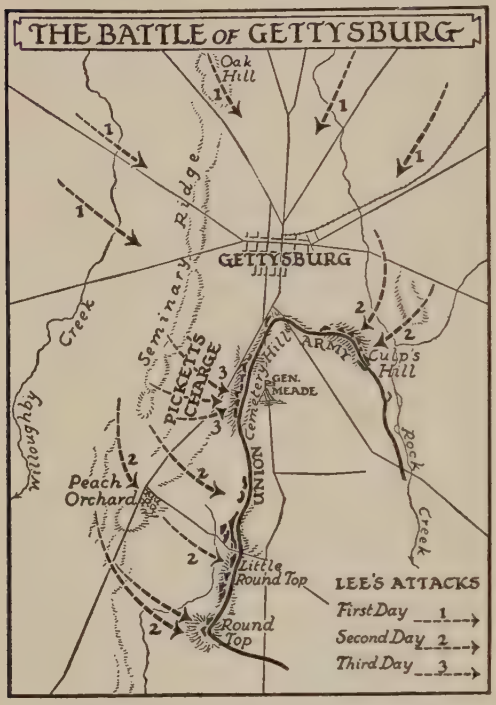
Along the line of Sherman's march, his army laid waste a broad area, as the map indicates. Off the coast, Union vessels were maintaining an effective blockade.

bravery, and their determination were the attributes of Americans, and not the characteristics of sections. The individual deeds of heroism that were performed at Gettysburg, the daring attacks and splendid defenses, are part of the glory of American history, whether the heroes wore blue or gray.[1]

For the first two days of the fighting, neither side seemed able

[1] The famous charge of the Confederate General Pickett at Cemetery Hill is one of the most renowned exploits of the war.

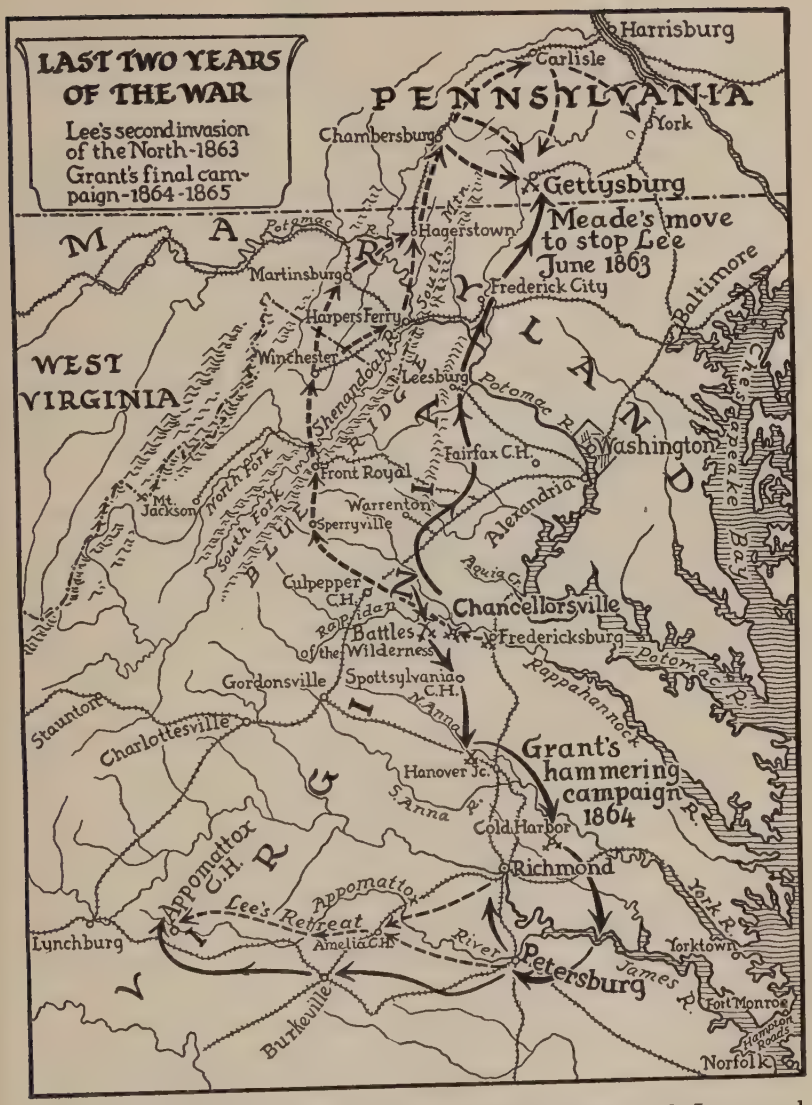
to gain an advantage, but by the third day the reinforcements that kept coming to Meade made themselves felt. The Confederates were forced to retreat.



On the first day, Lee's army attacked from the north and west, driving the Union army back to Cemetery Hill. The second day, Lee attacked the Union army, capturing the Peach Orchard and the slopes of Culp's Hill and of Round Top. The third day, the Confederates were driven from Culp's Hill, and then Pickett led a gallant charge from Seminary Ridge to the very brow of Cemetery Hill before he was turned back.

When on the evening of that third of July the valiant gray line rolled backward the war was not over, though the issue was determined. The next day was the nation's eighty-seventh birthday. The Stars and Stripes floated over the silent guns at Vicksburg and the blood-soaked fields of Gettysburg, a mute evidence that the tide of war had turned and the God of battles had determined that this United States of ours was to be "one nation indivisible."

Grant and the "Hammering Campaign." When Grant came in person to take charge of the Eastern operations he began his "hammering campaign." Lee's line of defense was growing thinner, for long before this time the full fighting strength of the South had been put into the field. Every man from seventeen to sixty capable of bearing arms was in the service, and many under



After winning a great victory at Chancellorsville, May, 1863, Lee moved northward into Pennsylvania. He was met and defeated at Gettysburg by the Union armies under Meade, and returned to Virginia. The next year, Grant began a determined campaign to capture Richmond and end the war.

and over the age were there also. Against this constantly thinning line Grant could pour in new and fresh troops from the great middle class reserves that were proving the backbone of the North. Both sides felt this to be the death struggle. At a frightful cost of human life, the Union forces drove southward. Unable to check them, General Lee tried a ruse that had diverted McClellan's forces in the early days of the war. He sent General Early on a raid toward Washington. Grant could not be moved from his own purpose, but to check Early he sent General Philip Sheridan on a raid down the Shenandoah, the richest grain land of Virginia, a raid which left the fertile valley barren.[1]

Raid by Confederates on Union Baggage Team

Capture of Richmond. With sledge hammer blows, Grant moved on to Richmond. The thin, gray line of defense grew thinner. The Confederates had one man for every four rods, General Lee estimated. Grant reached and attacked Richmond. After a futile defense it surrendered. Every part of the Northern war plan had been accomplished.

Surrender of Lee. Robert E. Lee, the indomitable, decided on a final stand in the mountainous region of southwestern Virginia. But the South, hopelessly outclassed in numbers, supplies, and wealth, was almost exhausted. Grant, in a proclamation in the early part of April, pointed out that the South could not

[1] It was during this movement that the famous "ride" of General Sheridan occurred. He had been in Washington on business, leaving his forces under the command of a subordinate officer. The Southern General Early, having received reenforcements, planned and carried out a surprise flank attack under cover of a heavy fog. Sheridan was returning to his command when the distant boom of cannon and panting fugitives informed him of the disaster. He made a forced ride to the scene of action and soon had his army re-formed for a counter attack that forced the Confederates to retreat.

hope to win, and that by continuing the struggle she was making herself responsible for the waste of lives. Two days later the two leaders met by appointment at Appomattox Courthouse. General Lee, handsome, courtly, in a fine new uniform, and General Grant, in his shabby work clothes, talked at first as old friends might about the days when they had fought together in the Mexican War. Then General Lee said quietly that he had come to make a formal surrender of the Southern Army of

THE END OF THE WAR

General Lee signing the terms of surrender for the divisions under his control. General Grant had written them, and their generosity reflected great credit on the wisdom and fairness of the conquering commander.

Virginia. The terms were simple and generous. The Confederates were to keep their side arms and their horses, for, said General Grant, "they will need them for the spring plowing." The other divisions of the Southern army surrendered in quick succession. The war was over.

The Union Preserved. The final lifting of the battle cloud revealed a nation that differed in many ways from the United States "before the war." There could never again be any question about the supremacy of the national government. The Union had been preserved, and the God of battlefields had decreed

that it was to be indeed a *sovereign union.* Slavery, the cause of so much difficulty between the sections, had been wiped out, and its extinction was soon made legal by the Thirteenth Amendment.

Civilian Care for Soldiers. In the homes, as well as on the battlefields, men had learned lessons of cooperation. In the North a " Sanitary Commission," [1] made up of volunteer workers, had been created to assist the Army Medical Board. Some such organization had to be formed, for the avalanche of supplies, gifts, and offers of help sent from all parts of the country was too great to be handled by the regular officers. The finest doctors, nurses, and business men and women of the North gave their services to the *Commission* and it accomplished wonders in making the volunteer soldiers healthier and happier when they were physically fit, and in caring for them when sick or wounded.

In the South, too, volunteer organizations had given devoted service for the sake of the " Cause." Their supplies were limited, their means of transportation poor, but they could not be surpassed in devotion and ability.

Reuniting the Union. The great question of the time was how to wipe out the bitterness between the sections, — how to heal the wounds made by civil war. The North, prosperous in spite of the struggle, might forgive, but it was doubtful if the South, prostrate, broken, and desolate could forget.

To make the Union in name, a Union in fact, needed a strong and trusted leader. North and South turned to Lincoln. He was the man for the occasion.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. On November 18, 1863, a national cemetery had been dedicated on the field of the battle of Gettysburg. The President made a little speech there. People who heard it listened with breathless attention, too deeply moved even to applaud. Many who read it, both in the North and the

[1] This splendid civilian organization, the forerunner of the Red Cross, organized at first as a "Commission of Inquiry and Advice in Respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces," soon found it necessary to add Departments of Relief and Supply. It established hospitals, provided for the transportation of the wounded, and made itself responsible for the distribution of the great masses of supplies from loyal Northern homes, where even the tiny children had the daily task of "scraping lint" for hospital bandages.

South, found in its simple truths a hope that the time of trouble and weariness and pain would soon pass away, and that this would indeed become "one nation." Lincoln's Gettysburg Address did more toward the realization of that ideal than anything else ever said or written. With "malice toward none" he spoke neither to North nor to South, but to the American people.

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or to detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

CHAPTER XXVIII

RECONSTRUCTION

I. The Transition from Military to Civil Life — *Thompson, pp. 339–340*
- A. In the North — *Hart, p. 336*
- B. In the South

II. The Northern Idea of the Reconstruction Problem
- A. As to the results of the war
- B. As to southern leaders
- C. As to the ex-slaves

III. President Lincoln and the Problem
- A. Theory with regard to the states
- B. The plan
  1. Deny right of secession.
  2. Promise never to pay the southern war debt.
  3. Adopt Thirteenth Amendment.

IV. Andrew Johnson as President
- A. Elected as vice-president
- B. Relationship to Lincoln's plan

V. Congressional Reconstruction — *Hart, p. 344*
- A. Effect of the southern Black Codes
- B. Establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau
- C. Civil Rights Bill
- D. The Fourteenth Amendment
  1. Quarrel with the President. (*a*) "Swing round the circle." (*b*) Impeachment.

VI. Military Reconstruction
- A. Districts
- B. Conditions
- C. Reconstruction completed
  1. The Fifteenth Amendment.

VII. Conditions in the South — *Fite, pp. 416–418*
- A. Under majority rule — *Tappan, pp. 147–156*
  1. Scalawags.
  2. "Carpet-baggers."

B. The South left to solve its own problems
1. Withdrawal of troops.
2. Appointment of Southern cabinet member.

C. Under minority rule
1. Illegal elections.
2. Overcoming the Fifteenth Amendment legally.
3. The present situation.

Problems

TOPIC

I. Contrast the conditions a Northern soldier would meet on his return home with those facing a Southern soldier.

V. Over what part of the Union does Congress have the power of government?

What effect would a successful impeachment have had on the power of the executive department of the government?

The Return of the Soldiers to Civilian Life. There are few things more wonderful in our history than the quiet, quick melting away of the great victorious army of the North after the close of the war. As fast as the soldiers were *mustered out* they returned to their homes, took up their work, and became citizens again almost overnight. They found these homes undisturbed and their local and state governments unchanged. They had no political problems to face, nor any social ones, such as the necessity for dealing with great numbers of people of another race in a new and strange relationship.

The situation of the Southern soldier was sadly different. He went home to a region in which there was no recognized government, no capital, and no labor of the kind to which he had been accustomed. The most disagreeable part of his situation was the fact that he was not to be allowed to solve his problems himself. That was to be the work of the victors.

The Problems of Reconstruction. The Northern people felt that they faced three problems. They knew the fearful cost of the war, and the first thing of which they wished to make sure was that no other such struggle should ever occur. Many of them felt that the Southern leaders who had brought on the war should be punished in some way. Everybody who understood

anything of the situation in the South asked what could be done with the negroes, whom the Thirteenth Amendment (**136**), ratified in December, 1865, set free.

Lincoln's Plan. President Lincoln had a plan for the situation, and began at once to carry it out. He believed *that a state could*

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

This beautiful monument of pure white Georgia marble, located in Potomac Park, Washington, D. C., was dedicated to the great American leader, on Decoration Day, 1922. It has thirty-six Doric columns, representing the states of the Union after reconstruction, with forty-eight sculptured festoons above, representing the states at the time of dedication. Within the temple the center of interest is an heroic statue of Lincoln himself. Above it, an inscription reads:

"In this Temple, as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

not go out of the Union, and since a state could not, of course it had not. He believed that the Southern states were still in the Union, but that by their disloyalty to it, they had disturbed their relationship and consequently lost their right to take part in the national government. Just as soon as they had (*a*) denied the right of secession, (*b*) promised never to pay any of the Southern war debt, and (*c*) adopted the Thirteenth Amendment,

he was ready to declare them restored to their rightful place, with their full share of the privileges and responsibilities of government.

This was mild and generous treatment for a rebellious section, and many Northerners felt that it was not severe enough. But the people generally had such faith in Lincoln that his plan might have prevailed had he lived to carry it out. His death at the hands of an assassin [1] changed the whole temper of the North. Sympathy for the vanquished became bitter distrust, and a tendency toward generous treatment was changed to a stern demand for punishment.

Andrew Johnson as President. The Vice-President, Andrew Johnson,[2] of Tennessee, owed his nomination to the anxiety of the Republican Convention of 1864 to win votes. He had been a Union Democrat, an anti-slavery Southerner, and a very popular man in his own section of the country. For these very reasons he was distrusted in the office of President, and though he announced his intention of following out Lincoln's plans, his influence with Congress was not strong enough to enable him to do it. Congressional members wished to have a hand in reconstruction.

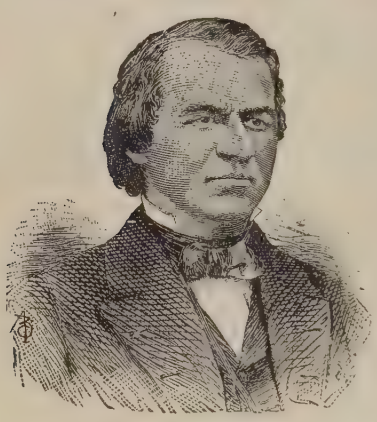
Freedmen's Bureaus Established. One of their first measures

[1] Lincoln was shot while in his box at the theater on the evening of the 14th of April, 1865. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, a well-known actor, whose devotion to the Southern cause had upset his reason. On the same evening a vicious attack was made on the Secretary of State, and there seems to have been a plot to destroy many of the Northern leaders. Booth was killed while trying to escape, and four of his accomplices were afterward hanged. The President's death was mourned in the South as well as in the North, for the common people everywhere realized that they had lost a wonderful friend.

[2] Andrew Johnson, a Tennessee boy of poor family, grew up without any education and only learned to write after he was married. Then his hatred of the aristocratic white class that ruled Tennessee drove him to organize an opposition to them. His earnestness and eloquence won him followers and he was elected to office after office. Although a Democrat he was a strict Unionist, opposed secession with all his heart, and as war governor of Tennessee proved a powerful aid to the Federal government. When offered the nomination as Vice-President on the Republican ticket in 1864, he wrote that he would not depart from his principles as a Democrat, but would accept the position because of "the higher duty of first preserving the government."

was the establishment of *Freedmen's Bureaus*,[1] which were relief stations opened in specified districts in the South to look after the needs of the ex-slaves. Such organizations were badly needed, for the poor ignorant negroes' idea of liberty was *freedom from labor* and not *freedom to labor*. Many of them fell into the most abject poverty, and the death rate due to disease and actual starvation was enormous.

The Black Codes in the South. Hastily established local and state governments in the South passed laws known as "black codes" to force the ex-slaves to work. Many of these laws provided that a person convicted of vagabondage might be sold to an employer for short periods of time. To the North, such measures looked like a complete restoration of slavery.



ANDREW JOHNSON,
1808–1875

The Civil Rights Bill. In an effort to protect the freedman against his former master, Congress passed a measure called the Civil Rights Bill, which gave the negro full rights of citizenship. This the President vetoed, because he believed reconstruction to be the business of the executive and not the legislative branch of the government.

The Fourteenth Amendment Proposed. His action convinced Congress that Johnson was not to be trusted. The Civil Rights Bill was passed over his veto, and then the whole congressional plan of reconstruction was put into the form of a constitutional amendment (**137–144**) and submitted to the states for approval. It provided for four things: (1) that the negro be given citizenship; (2) that negroes should not be counted in determining the number of representatives due a state, if they were denied the

[1] Many of them did a needed and necessary work in bringing relief to southern poor whites also.

right to vote; (3) no Confederate could hold any Federal office, if, before the Rebellion, he had held any office under the United

STATUE OF BOOKER TALIFERRO WASHINGTON, 1858–1915

"Up from Slavery," Booker T. Washington's story of his own life, is a wonderful account of what determination may accomplish. Although born a slave, this boy determined to get an education, and when he had realized his ambition, longed to share the blessing with the rest of his race. Tuskegee Institute in Alabama is the result of his efforts.

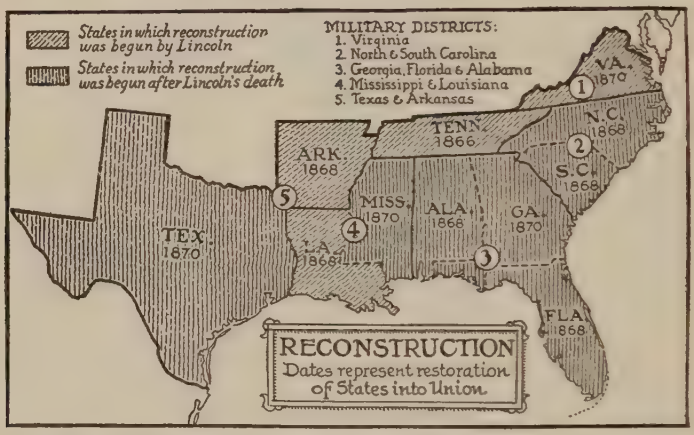
When Booker T. Washington opened the school, he was himself unknown, and there was little understanding of the need for Negro education. His first classes were held in an old church and a near-by shanty, with an enrollment of thirty, and himself as the only teacher. Before his death there were 180 teachers and officers, and over 1500 students, while the founder had won sympathy and support for his great work, and fame for himself as an educator.

Tuskegee students are taught to work with their hands and with their heads, and as a result of this practical education, its graduates have been a mighty force in the upward progress of the colored race.

States; and (4) the Confederate war debt was declared illegal and was never to be paid.

The Quarrel between the President and Congress. Before this Fourteenth Amendment could become a part of the Constitution it had to have the approval of three-fourths of the states,

and this number would necessarily include some of those in the South. President Johnson advised the southern states not to ratify it, because he said that at the next congressional election many of their enemies and his would not be returned to Congress, and that in a more friendly legislative body the South would be more kindly treated. The southern states took his advice and refused to ratify the amendment, but when the congressional election occurred the President was found to have been a false prophet. The new Congress was more unfriendly to him than the old.



Congress, in February, 1867, after Tennessee had been restored to her place in the Union, divided the remaining ten states into five military districts, as the map indicates.

The quarrel between Congress and the President developed rapidly and finally culminated in his impeachment, the final cause being the dismissal of a cabinet member from office without the consent of Congress. According to a "tenure of office" bill that had just been passed, the President could not do this. Johnson was then impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors," and was saved from conviction and dismissal by just one vote.

Military Reconstruction Adopted. Meanwhile Congress had punished the South by adopting a measure known as Military Reconstruction. It divided the whole South, except Tennessee,[1]

[1] Tennessee had accepted the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments and had been restored to her rightful place in the Union, July, 1866.

into five military districts, each one under the rule of a United States army officer to be appointed by the President. This officer might do as he pleased about allowing the local governments to continue in the states he controlled. When, in his estimation, any state was ready for such a movement, he was to call a constitutional convention to make a new state constitution. The qualifications for the voters who were to elect the members of these conventions were such that former leading men were barred because of their voluntary service in the Confederate army, while all other male citizens, twenty-one years of age, were permitted to vote. This meant that the conventions would be selected by, and made up of, the less responsible whites and the negroes, who were almost without exception ignorant and incapable.

The Fourteenth Amendment Ratified. These conventions were to make constitutions including the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, and submit these constitutions for the approval of the voters who had elected the members of the convention. When the state constitution had been adopted by a majority vote, and when the national Congress had likewise approved it, then Congress would pass a bill restoring the state to its former position in the Union. By such means a sufficient number of states were induced to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and it became a part of the Federal Constitution.

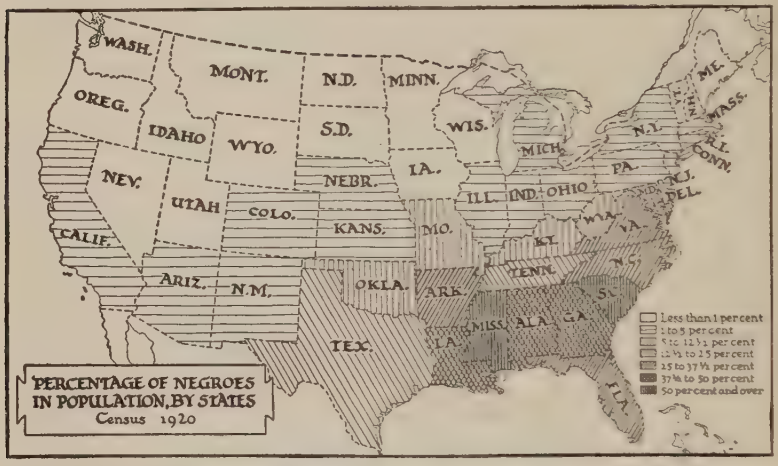
The Fifteenth Amendment. Under these conditions reconstruction was finally completed, although not until Congress had submitted the Fifteenth Amendment (**145**) to the people and it had been adopted with the unwilling aid of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas.[1] By the terms of this amendment no person could be deprived of his right to vote "because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Its object was to give the negro the final protection of the ballot.

Carpetbag Government. Southerners of the poor white class who had evaded military service or had gone only when subject to the draft laws, now found themselves in positions of power.

[1] These states had been so slow about accepting former reconstruction measures, that Congress made their ratification of this amendment also a condition of their being restored to the Union.

Northern men of such low estate that all their belongings could be carried in a carpetbag hurried into the South to find what profit they could in the war-wasted land. A time of horror set in for the South. These "scalawags" and "carpetbaggers" used the ignorant negroes for their own evil purposes, and government misrule resulted. Public money was wasted, laws were unenforced, and crime was unchecked.

Southern White Supremacy Restored. An unintelligent majority never controls an intelligent minority for any great length



Why the negro problem is chiefly a Southern problem is made clear by this map, which shows that in most of the Southern states, negroes constitute more than one-fourth of the population.

of time. By various illegal methods the better class of the South got the political power back into its own hands. By stuffing ballot boxes, by frightening negro voters,[1] and by actual bribing, the real southern leaders contrived to get their representatives into power.

Twenty years later they did by law what they had before accomplished by fraud. Educational requirements, poll taxes,

[1] Members of secret societies known as the Ku-Klux Klan dressed as ghosts and rode through the country at night frightening the negroes and often enforcing their commands by acts of violence.

and property owning provisions were used as voting tests by various states in order to bar the negro from suffrage, while at the same time a "grandfather clause," which permitted persons to vote whose ancestors had held the privilege before 1861, saved the poor whites from disqualification while at the same time it barred negroes from voting. By such methods white supremacy was assured.

The End of Reconstruction. Northern leaders came to the conclusion that the South could best settle her own problems. Rutherford B. Hayes was the first President to recognize this fact. He ordered the withdrawal of Northern troops from all Southern districts and appointed a Southern man as a member of his Cabinet. From that time Southerners began to take a more important part in the Federal government and formal reconstruction came to an end.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NEW SOUTH AND THE NEW WEST

I. Rebuilding the South — *Thompson, pp. 349–350*

A. The South prostrate at the close of the war
   1. Lack of capital.
   2. The Labor situation.

B. How the South faced the problem
   1. The spirit of the South.

C. Prosperity returns
   1. Increased demand for cotton.
   2. Diversity of crops.
   3. Industrial development.

II. Opening Up the New West — *Fite, pp. 404–405*

A. Public lands and the Homestead Act
   1. Settlement encouraged. (*a*) Ex-soldiers. (*b*) Immigrants.
   2. Grain production. — *Poems, p. 566*
   3. The Mormons in Utah.
   4. The mining industry. — *Thompson, p. 353*

B. The purchase of Alaska — *Hart, p. 366*
   1. Its value.

C. Building the Pacific Railroads
   1. Story of the Union Pacific. (*a*) Land and money grants.
   2. Other Pacific railroads.

D. Labor problems
   1. Chinese immigration.

E. Indian problems

III. The Grangers and the Railroads — *Fite, pp. 426–427*

A. Early attitude
   1. Railroads welcomed.
   2. Dependence of grain farmer on railroads.

B. Change in farmers' attitude
   1. Causes. (*a*) His losses. (*b*) Hard times. (*c*) Distrust of combinations.
   2. Results. (*a*) "Granger Laws."
   3. Interstate Commerce Commission.

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

I. Compare industrial conditions in the South under "carpetbag" rule, with conditions in Russia after the World War. What relation is there between good government and prosperity?

Is it a bad thing for a community to be largely dependent on a single crop or on a single industry?

II. Since there has been no Chinese immigration since 1882, how does it happen that there are so many Chinese in America? Can a Chinaman become a citizen?

III. For a long time the freight rate from Cincinnati to New York was less than the rate from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. Can you explain why? Would the fact that there was more than one railroad make any difference?

Conditions in the South after the War. When the former Confederate soldiers came straggling back to their old homes in the spring of 1865, they found almost nothing with which to begin life anew. The farmers and planters had become "land poor." That is, they had little left except the soil; tools, farm stock, seeds, money, and labor were generally lacking. A Virginia farmer described what he found as follows: "The country was almost a desert. We had no cattle, hogs, sheep, or horses, or anything else. The fences were all gone. Some of the orchards were very much injured, but the fruit trees had not been destroyed. The barns were all burned; chimneys standing without houses, and houses standing without roof, or door, or window." Of course, he was describing a region where there had been actual fighting. Not all parts of the South were like this; but everywhere there was a serious shortage of the necessities of life. There was almost no money, except the worthless Confederate paper. Such ordinary articles as window glass, dishes, hair brushes, pins, needles, thread, and pocket knives had been used up during the war, and there was no way to replace them. Horses and mules were scarce, and many of the roads had become impassable through neglect.

The Negro Labor Problem. The negroes, who in some cases had just learned of their freedom, were in a very unsettled state of mind as to what that freedom meant. Many of them supposed

that it meant no more work, and nearly all of them were strongly inclined to take a good long holiday to celebrate. It was, therefore, difficult for the returning planter to get any help. The lack of money added to his difficulty, for he could only promise a share in the next crop as wages.

Heroes of Peace. In spite of all these handicaps, however, most of the returning soldiers proved themselves heroes of peace by making the best of the situation. The loss of a leg or an arm did not keep them from the plow, and when there was no available work animal, there were actual cases of ex-soldiers who hitched themselves beside a cow or mule, while the woman of the household drove the strange team. In such ways the first crop was put in. Unfortunately it did not succeed very well, because it was begun too late in the spring.

Returning Prosperity Hindered by Bad Government. Cotton had long been the principal crop of the lower South. After the war, the demand for cotton increased rapidly, and for several years the growers were able to sell all they could produce. The old plantations were broken up, and in many cases the various fragments were rented out to former slaves. The tenants, who sometimes raised but a single bale of cotton, were always poor, borrowing to supply their needs until the next crop was harvested and sold. Then there was often only enough to pay off the debts. The plantation owners were sometimes as deeply in debt as the tenants. Even under the best of market conditions the Southern farmer remained poor. The extravagant and weak local government of the South, due to reconstruction and "carpetbag" rule, made its recovery much slower than it would otherwise have been.[1]

[1] There is a close connection between good government and prosperity. During the World War there was a revolution in Russia which overthrew the monarchy, but failed to put an efficient government in its place. A period of lawlessness set in. The lands of the rich were confiscated, and in many cases given to the poor, but since the government did not protect the poor farmer either, and he often had his crops taken from him, there was little inducement to farm. Food production fell off to almost nothing, and terrible famines ravaged the country, although it contains some of the richest agricultural lands of the world.

Effect of Panic of 1873. In 1873, the United States experienced the worst panic in its history. Prices of all kinds of products fell to very low figures. Cotton dropped to seven cents a pound, a price which meant ruin to many growers, and for several years the South especially suffered from the resulting "hard times."

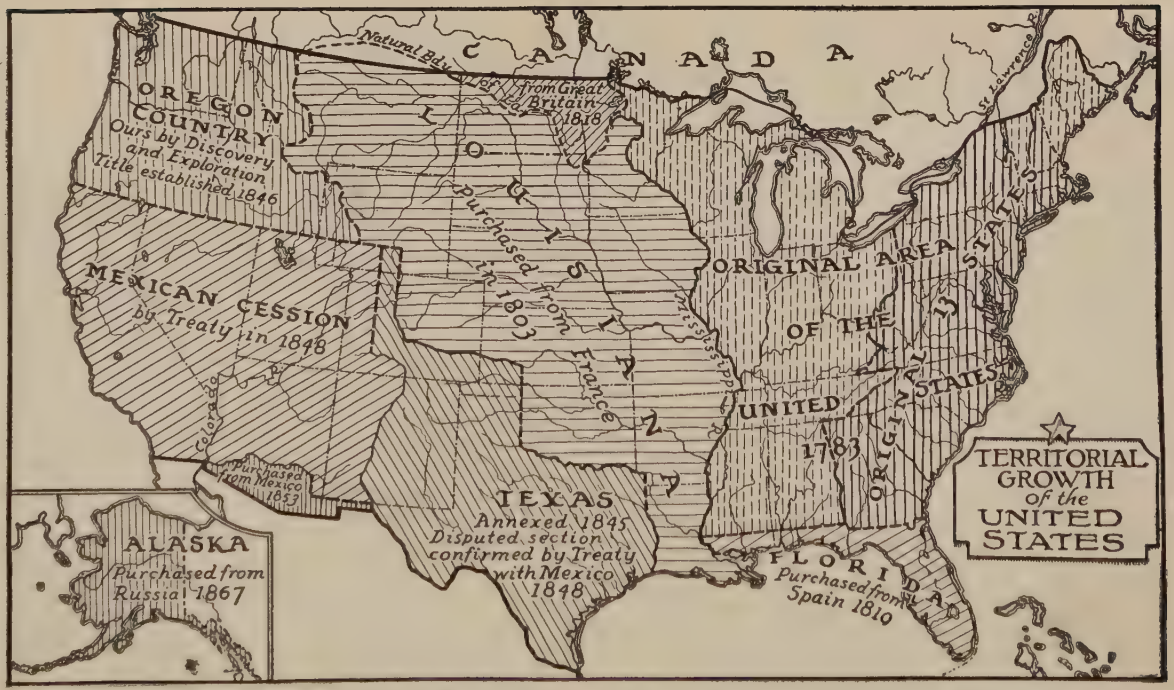
Returning Prosperity. Then at last there came a slow improvement in conditions. As prosperity returned to other parts of the world, the demand for cotton became active, the price advanced, and the South reaped the benefit.

More important than this, however, the Southern farmer has slowly learned to diversify his crops. He now raises his own corn and wheat and hogs instead of buying them from the North as he had done for so long. Railroad transportation has opened a big market in far-away cities for Southern-grown fruit and early vegetables. Tobacco has become of increasing importance in large sections of the upper South. By a system of crop rotation, and by more careful cultivation of the soil, the better Southern farmers have developed a method of farming which brings a much larger return than the old one-crop system.

Establishment of Industries. Even before the war, some Southerners had realized that permanent prosperity could only come through a development of industries. Since the war, the water power of many Southern rivers has been harnessed to drive the spindles and looms of numerous cotton mills. Other industries have developed. New Orleans has become a great center of sugar refining and the second largest American seaport. Birmingham is the center of an enormous iron and steel industry.

The New South. The South, which suffered cruelly during the war and the reconstruction period, gradually developed a new system of agriculture and began an industrial development which seems to assure permanent prosperity for that section and real benefit for the whole country. Free labor has proved to be a great blessing to the former slave states.

Settlement of the Middle West. At the same time that the South was slowly winning its way back into the industrial fabric of the nation, another great new region was being opened up to



Three great steps mark the expansion of the United States across the continent: first, the original area east of the Mississippi river; second, the Louisiana Purchase, the northern boundary of which was fixed in 1818; and third, the Texas, Oregon, and California areas, acquired between 1845 and 1850.

development. In May, 1862, Congress had passed the Homestead Act, opening up to settlement the public lands of the great West. By the terms of the law, any citizen was given the right to settle on 160 acres of public land, and at the end of five years' actual residence, to own it by paying a small sum of money. The effect of the law was not very noticeable until after the war. Then many of the returning Union soldiers, finding it hard to start anew in the old home town, decided to undertake the task of conquering the western prairie. At the same time, a wave of immigration from Germany, Norway, and Sweden brought hundreds of thousands of new families to America. The great majority of these newcomers made their way directly to this vast new West which was just opening up. Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the eastern part of Dakota filled up rapidly.

"The plow was the primary implement of civilization." The earliest plows were probably little more than forked sticks. With the invention of bronze tools these wooden plows could be more carefully shaped. Iron plows were known by the beginning of the Christian era, but it has only been in the last two centuries that a marked development of the plow has come about. The substitution of horse power for hand power was one of the greatest advances. In the conquest of the great west of our country, when horses were not available, yokes of cattle often furnished power for breaking the tough prairie sod.

Hardships and Prosperity on the Prairies. Life on the wide, treeless prairie with its sod dugouts amid great fields of wheat and corn, for the raising of which the new gang plows and self-binding harvesters proved to be indispensable aids, was an entirely new experience to most of these settlers. When a dry season caused a crop failure, they were often forced to retreat eastward to the older settlements. Gradually, however, methods of dry farming were developed which made it possible to raise crops in spite of drouth.

The Mormons in Utah. Between these settlements on the western prairie and the new communities of California and Oregon on the Pacific coast lay a thousand miles of almost unknown coun-

try, much of it very mountainous, and much more of it supposed to be desert waste. In 1847, the Mormons,[1] driven out of their settlements in Illinois, had migrated to the shores of Great Salt Lake and built Salt Lake City. Here they prospered, and Utah became a great Mormon community. Daring pioneers seeking wealth and adventure began to push into the mountains from the east and from the west. They soon discovered rich deposits of silver, gold, copper, and lead, and an important mining industry

SALT LAKE CITY, 1849

A party of 143 Mormons, led by Brigham Young, migrated westward to avoid the persecution from which they suffered because of their religion and arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in July of 1847. It was at that time little more than a desert. The Mormon pioneers dammed up a creek and flooded the sun-baked soil of a small area, and cultivation became possible. This was the beginning of the modern system of irrigation that "has made the wilderness blossom like a rose."

The first settlers prospered and others joined them. Gold seekers on their way to California came to depend on the Mormon colony for supplies. The population became dense enough to warrant the organization of the territory of Utah in 1850.

grew up. The Territories of the prairie and mountain sections soon became members of the Union of states.[2]

The Purchase of Alaska. In 1867, an opportunity came to purchase Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000; and William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, quickly drew up and signed a

[1] The Mormons were a religious sect founded by Joseph Smith about 1830.

[2] Nevada, 1864; Nebraska, 1867; Colorado, 1887; North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, 1889; Wyoming and Idaho, 1890; Utah, 1896.

treaty, which the Senate ratified. Seward was severely criticized, at the time, for spending so much money for a "vast area of rocks and ice;" but the region has produced gold, copper, fur, and fish worth hundreds of millions of dollars, and possesses forests and rich coal deposits of untold value.

Transcontinental Railroads. As settlers began to move into the great prairie and mountain regions of the West, there came a demand for better means of transportation. In fact, the rush of gold seekers to California in 1849 had brought the need for a railroad to the attention of Congress. The rivalry between Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans to be the eastern terminus of the road delayed action. With the outbreak of the Civil War the need became more imperative. What was to prevent California and Oregon from seceding as the Southern states had done? In 1862, Congress chartered the Union Pacific railroad to build westward from Omaha, Nebraska, from which town railroad connection with Chicago was easy. At the same time, California chartered the Central Pacific to build eastward from San Francisco. $50,000,000 in United States bonds and 20,000,000 acres of public lands were given by Congress to help pay the cost of construction. The first rails were laid in 1864, and for five years the construction gangs worked toward each other, often being compelled to send half their number to beat off Indian attacks while the other half

THE MORMON TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

This great granite structure is 186 feet long, 118 feet wide, and 210 feet high from the ground to the highest pinacle. The walls of the lower part are eight feet thick. Its construction took exactly forty years.

Mormon congregations do not meet for worship in temples, but in tabernacles built for that purpose. A glimpse of the Salt Lake City tabernacle may be seen at the left of the picture. It seats over 9000 persons.

worked. In 1869, the workmen met near Ogden, Utah, and the last spike, a golden one presented by California, was driven in with a silver hammer. Until the completion of this railroad the only mail service with the Pacific coast had been by the "pony express," and travel had been slow and difficult.

The region between the Mississippi river and the Pacific coast has owed its development very largely to the railroads. The Union-Central Pacific, completed in 1869, was the first of the transcontinental lines. Three others, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and the Sante Fé, were opened in 1883. Settlers followed and towns sprang up beside the glistening bands of steel that bound East and West together.

Other Pacific railroads were soon under way and most of them received government aid. As they moved westward, towns sprang up beside the newly laid rails and a great new country was soon the scene of bustling activity. Today there are seven transcontinental lines which bind East and West together with bands of steel.

The Chinese Labor Problems. To build these railroads a great deal of labor was necessary. In California, in the early days, there had been a scarcity of labor, not only to work on the rail-

road but also to do the heavy work in the mines. To meet this demand, Chinese coolies began to come to California and received a hearty welcome. A treaty with China was made in 1868, granting the Chinese in America all the privileges which citizens of any other nation enjoyed. With the completion of the railroad, however, white laborers began to flock to the Pacific coast, and found it difficult to compete with the Chinese, who worked long hours for low wages. There was danger, too, that their presence

To the western Indian, the great shaggy bison, or buffalo, was the principal resource for food and clothing, and was continually hunted. Besides eating the flesh as fresh meat, they cut vast quantities of it into strips each autumn, and dried it in the sun for winter use.

The advance of the railroad led to the almost complete extermination of the bison, and consequently meant starvation for the Indians, and many of their savage outbreaks were simply efforts to preserve their hunting grounds.

might create another race problem similar to the negro problem. An insistent demand arose that the Chinese be kept out. A new treaty was made with China which gave to Congress the power to " regulate, limit, or suspend " the coming of Chinese laborers to America. In 1882, a law was passed by which Chinese immigration was suspended for ten years. The law has been renewed as often as it has expired.[1]

[1] Some years later, the Pacific coast states began to demand that the Japanese should also be kept out. An agreement was reached with Japan by which she promised not to permit Japanese laborers to come to this country.

Treatment of the Indians. The rush of new settlers into the lands which had long been the home of the Indians, and to which many of them had been removed from the east under promises that here they might dwell undisturbed, created a new problem. The Indians themselves realized that the coming of the railroads meant the end of their free existence, and uprisings were common for many years. With the slaughter of the great herds of buffaloes for their hides, the natural food supply of the Indians was largely cut off, and they became dependent on government aid. Finally, after spending millions of dollars on Indian wars in an effort to

NAVAJO INDIAN GIRLS GO A-SHOPPING

The Indians of to-day are not very picturesque, but they are rapidly becoming prosperous and valuable members of their communities.

force the tribes to remain on their reservations, the government adopted a new policy. Under the Dawes Act of 1887, the Indians are dealt with as individuals instead of in tribes as before. They are given land, aided to secure an education, and urged to become citizens. A later law (1906) undertook to safeguard the Indians from white men who were cheating them out of their lands and ruining them with whisky. Many Indians have taken advantage of the opportunity to become citizens and it may be hoped that the whole problem is gradually working itself out to a solution.[1]

[1] Many of the Indians from the East were removed by the government to Indian Territory. In 1889, a part of this region was opened up to white settlers under the name of Oklahoma. In 1907, the two territories were united and admitted as the state of Oklahoma.

The Western Farmer Welcomed Railroads. To the farmer who did not live on a navigable stream, the coming of the railroads was a wonderful boon. In the early days of railroad building, many farmers mortgaged their farms and voted to have the town or county issue bonds to help pay the cost of construction. For one reason or another many of these early railroads became bankrupt, and the farmer was left with nothing but his worthless railroad stock and the mortgage on his farm. Most of these first railroads had been short, disconnected lines, with varying widths of track, so that the freight and passengers had to be unloaded and reloaded frequently. Thus there were originally eleven different companies between Albany and Buffalo. Gradually these were combined into a single system, the New York Central and Hudson River railroad. Similar combinations were made elsewhere, and by 1875 the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio, all had through lines from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard.

A Modern Tractor Plow

The earliest plows merely stirred or loosened the soil. Modern plows cut a furrow and turn it over so as to cover the old surface and leave fresh soil on top. The gang plow, or multi-plow, drawn by a tractor instead of horses and plowing several furrows at once, makes possible the cultivation of the great farms of the west.

His Dependence upon Them. The farmer of the middle west depended almost wholly on two crops, wheat and corn. Neither of these was valuable unless it could be transported to an eastern or a European market. Therefore freight rates on the railroads were a big factor in the farmers' prosperity. The capitalists controlling the railroads had the shippers at their mercy. They established no uniform freight rates, but sought profit by charging "what the traffic would bear." When by combination they became even more powerful, the farmer who wished to ship grain found himself in a desperate situation. At the same time the panic of 1873 lowered the price of grain to the point where many a farmer

in Iowa and Kansas burned his corn for fuel because it was cheaper than coal.

His Attempts to Secure Fair Treatment from Them. For this great loss, the farmer blamed the new railroad combinations; and the state legislatures of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota proceeded to pass laws to regulate both freight and passenger rates. From the fact that most of the farmers who were interested in the passage of these laws were members of the "Grange,"[1] these acts are often called the "Granger Laws." In 1886, the Supreme Court of the United States declared most of these laws unconstitutional because Congress alone has power to regulate interstate commerce. Congress responded the next year with a law creating the Interstate Commerce Commission, whose powers have been increased from time to time until now it controls practically all of the railroad rates in the country.

Growth of West Due to Railroads. The expansion of the United States from a narrow fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast into a great continental empire is a story full of romance and brave deeds. It is an expansion which would never have been possible without the railroad.

[1] The "Grange," or the Patrons of Husbandry, is a farmers' society, first organized in 1867, which has had a very rapid growth in the south and the middle west, and continues to be an important organization.

CHAPTER XXX

THE REPUBLICAN SUPREMACY

I. The Republican Party in Control — *Hart, p. 355*

A. How it came about
1. Conduct of the war.
2. Negro suffrage. — *Poems, p. 573*

B. Problems of Grant's administration
1. Character of Grant.
2. Reaction in North against carpetbag rule.
3. Liberal Republican movement. (*a*) Election of 1872.
4. Public scandals. (*a*) "Tweed Ring." (*b*) Credit Mobilier. (*c*) Whisky Ring. (*d*) Fraud in Indian affairs.
5. Centennial exposition.

II. The Election of 1876 — *Fite, pp. 419–422*

A. The candidates
1. Hayes.
2. Tilden.

B. The disputed election

C. How the contest was settled
1. The Electoral Commission. (*a*) "Eight to Seven."

III. The Civil Service — *Poems, p. 587*

A. The spoils system
1. In Jackson's day. — *Fite, pp. 431–433*
2. During the war.
3. Grant's efforts at reform.

B. Hayes' attitude toward office seekers

C. The election of 1880
1. Garfield in favor of reform.
2. His assassination.

D. Civil service reform
1. The Civil Service Commission.
2. Results.

Problems

TOPIC

II. If you had been a Republican member of Congress in 1878, would you have been in favor of the Electoral Commission or not? Why?

III. Why do some politicians generally object to civil service reform? Is there any danger that men may be kept in office too long under the present system?

Special Topic: Life of Grant (see page 573)

Today's Lesson.

The Republican Party in Control. The close of the Civil War left the Republican party, then scarcely ten years old, in full control of the national government. Its conduct of the war, while it had been severely criticized at times, was generally hailed with satisfaction when the war came to a successful conclusion. The "boys in blue" and their friends found it hard to forget that most of those who opposed the war had been Democrats; and their votes generally went to the Republican party that "had won the war and saved the Union."

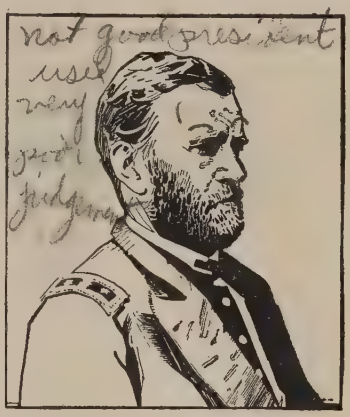
A great number of new voters were brought into the Republican party when the negroes were given the right to vote. Naturally enough, every ex-slave believed that he owed his freedom to the party of "Massa Lincum." Even the quarrels between Congress and President Johnson had served to unite the Republicans more firmly, and to convince them that the party which had saved the country must rule it now.

Election of Grant. Nevertheless, the party leaders were worried about the presidential election of 1868, until they learned that General Grant would accept the nomination. There was no more popular man in all the nation than the hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox. When the Republican convention met in Chicago, its members could hardly wait for the necessary preliminaries, so eager were they to vote for General Grant. He was nominated unanimously on the first ballot; and in the November election, the Republicans carried 26 of the 34 states.

His Character. Grant did not desire the presidency. It was forced upon him by the party leaders because of his great popularity. It was in accord with a cherished American tradition that a man who has succeeded in one line of work is therefore fitted for any public office. Grant had been a successful soldier and his simple and honest nature won him many friends. He

was very loyal to these friends and trusted them fully; and some of them abused the trust. Like many other successful soldiers, Grant had a habit of deciding important questions promptly, without useless delay in asking other people's opinions. This habit, together with his total inexperience in political affairs, led him into some mistakes in office which did not add to his popularity nor his reputation.

His Appointments. Grant consulted no one about his Cabinet appointments, although he named two or three excellent men; the others fell far short of what people had expected. The feeling of disappointment was increased two years later, when he asked two of the three really able men in the Cabinet to resign, and filled their places with men of small ability.[1] His appointments to other offices were often very unwise. Grant's lack of ability as President was the source of sorrow to many men. Said one, "I think the warmest friends of Grant feel that he has failed terribly as President, not from want of honesty or desire, but from want of tact, and from great ignorance."



Ulysses S. Grant, 1822–1885

The Liberal Republican Movement. Besides this growing distrust of Grant, there was a strong feeling in the North that the South had been sufficiently punished by the reconstruction measures, and that it was high time to withdraw the Federal troops and adopt a more liberal and generous policy toward that section of the country. This feeling expressed itself in the Liberal Republican movement. A mass convention met in Cincinnati

[1] Hamilton Fish, who was Grant's Secretary of State, was one of the ablest men who ever held that office. It was largely due to his ability that the serious differences with Great Britain which had grown out of the Civil War were settled peacefully. By the Treaty of Washington (1871) all the important questions between the two countries were submitted to arbitration.

in May, 1872, and adopted a platform insisting on a more liberal policy toward the South and a "thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour." As a candidate for President, they named Horace Greeley, for many years editor of the New York *Tribune*, the "Bible of the Republican party." He was a man totally unfitted for the office, and although the Democrats also supported him, he was overwhelmingly defeated by Grant in the election. The boys who had followed where "Ulysses led the van" had not lost faith in their hero.

HORACE GREELEY,
1811–1872

When only twenty years of age Horace Greeley went to New York City to make his fortune. He was a journeyman printer with exactly ten dollars capital. He became an ardent abolitionist, and a staunch advocate of the protection of American industries. In time he founded the New York *Tribune*, which grew to be one of the most influential dailies in the country. As its editor, Greeley had a powerful influence over the policies of the period.

The "Tweed Ring" in New York City. That the Liberal Republicans were right in believing that there was need for reform in the methods of doing public business soon became evident. Already there had been brought to light the gigantic frauds of the notorious "Tweed Ring" in New York. Our great cities have often suffered from bad government; but nothing in American history has ever equalled the deeds of "Boss" Tweed and his Tammany Hall[1] followers in New York City. Tweed himself was a clever rascal who won friends by liberal giving and coarse good nature. He built up a band of political thieves who controlled the city elections with the aid of the votes of ignorant foreigners. Members of the ring were elected to all the important city offices, and one of them became governor of the state. Then

[1] Tammany Hall is a political organization in New York City which first became prominent about 1800. It has frequently elected its candidates in the city, and less often in the state of New York.

they proceeded to fill their own pockets from the city treasury. A favorite method was to increase the bills which were presented for payment. For instance, a man who had a bill against the city for $5000 was told that he could have his money at once if he would make the bill $55,000. He was then paid $5000 and the other $50,000 went to the members of the ring. The same plan was followed in buying supplies. A lot of thermometers, for instance, were billed at $7500 each. A plasterer who was working for the city drew over $2,000,000 as pay for nine months' work. The amount which was stolen is unknown, but has been estimated as high as $100,000,000. When the facts became known, the gangsters were defeated at the polls. Some of them fled to other countries, and some were arrested. Tweed himself died in prison. This was the end of the "Tweed Ring," but unfortunately it was not the end of corrupt politics either in New York or in other cities.

The Credit Mobilier. Close on the heels of this story of fraud from New York came charges that the hideous monster, graft, could be found in the halls of Congress itself. The most famous scandal was that connected with the Credit Mobilier. This was a company formed by certain stockholders of the Union Pacific Railroad. These stockholders as directors of the railroad let to themselves as members of the Credit Mobilier the contract for building much of the road at an enormous profit. Congress had voted large sums of money and great tracts of land to help build the Union Pacific Railroad. Now it was learned that several congressmen, the Speaker of the House included, had been given shares of stock in the Credit Mobilier, or had been allowed to buy them at a price much lower than their market value. As a result, members of Congress who were voting money to help build the railroad were receiving large dividends out of the profits of construction. Although there was very little evidence of bribery, the majority of the people believed that such transactions were wrong.

The Whisky Ring. Soon there came charges of fraud in the conduct of government business. Bristow, the Secretary of the Treasury, discovered some startling facts regarding the so-called

"Whisky Ring." In St. Louis and other cities, there had grown up an understanding between the whisky distillers and the internal revenue officers under which these government agents reported a much smaller amount of whisky than was actually made. By this means, the government was being cheated out of a part of the tax on whisky. Apparently Grant's private secretary was one of the guilty men. A new sensation was created when Belknap, the Secretary of War, was impeached for fraud in the conduct of the affairs of his department. It was shown that he had been receiving from $3000 to $6000 a year out of a contract which he had let in Indian Territory. Belknap resigned before the trial could be held, and Grant unwisely accepted his resignation.

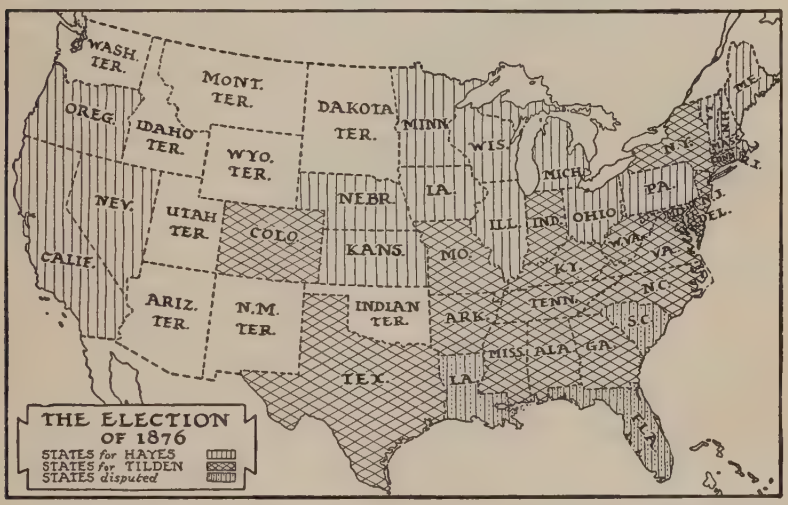
Grant's Loyalty to His Friends. Grant was in no way to blame for these scandals except, perhaps, in the poor judgment he had shown in selecting officials, and in his extreme loyalty to his friends when they were accused. The scandals in government business were merely a reflection of the low state of public morals, which was to be seen in the business world of that period as well.

The Centennial Exposition. It seemed the height of irony that all these public scandals should come to light just when the nation was planning to celebrate its one hundredth birthday with a great Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. James Russell Lowell, the poet, expressed a common thought when he wrote:

> "Columbia, puzzled what she should display
> Of true home-make on her Centennial Day,
> Asked Brother Jonathan: he scratched his head,
> Whittled awhile reflectively, and said,
> 'Your own invention and own making too?
> Why any child could tell ye what to do:
> Show 'em your Civil Service.'"

The Disputed Election of 1876. The Centennial year was also the year of the presidential election. The question of reform was uppermost in men's minds. The Democrats chose as their candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, who had taken a prominent part in fighting the "Tweed Ring" and had made a good record as a reform governor of New York. The Republicans could not nominate any of the prominent leaders of the party, because of their con-

nection with these public scandals, and selected Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, a man of sterling character, although not widely known. The choice between these two candidates was a difficult one, for both were excellent men, and either would undoubtedly do his best to correct the evils in the national government. When the returns from the election were received in November, it was found that Tilden would receive 184 of the electoral votes, Hayes 166, and that 19 votes were in doubt. If all the doubtful votes were cast for Hayes, he would have a majority of one vote.



Disputed returns from three Southern states made the election of 1876 very unusual. A special commission of fifteen decided that all the disputed votes should be counted for Hayes, and he was therefore elected.

The disputed votes came from four states: Oregon, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. One vote from Oregon was in doubt because the elector was also a postmaster, and by law he could not hold two Federal offices (**76**). This difficulty was cured when he resigned his postmastership. In the three southern states, there had been a great deal of fraud in the election. Many negroes had been frightened away from the polls and kept from voting; and on the other hand, Republican election boards had thrown out and refused to count large numbers of Democratic

votes. From each of the three states, two sets of returns were sent to Congress; the one sent by Republican officials claimed that Hayes electors had been chosen, and the one sent by the Democrats gave the majority to the Tilden electors.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, 1822–1893

Ill-health prevented Hayes as a young man from following his inclination and serving in the Mexican War. So he set himself to the task of winning a sound body and succeeded so well that when the Civil War came he was ready and able to answer his country's call. Not only for his gallant services on the field of action, but also for the care of his men, Hayes won for himself both reputation and promotion.

After the war he served as representative in Congress, and as governor of his own state for three terms before his election to the presidency.

The Electoral Commission. Who was to determine which votes were to be counted? There was nothing in the Constitution nor in the laws to answer that question. If the disputed votes were thrown out and not counted, no one would have a majority, and the election would go to the House of Representatives (**134**), which, being Democratic, would elect Tilden. Finally an agreement was reached to leave the disputed questions to a special Electoral Commission of fifteen, five chosen from the Senate, five from the House, and five from the Judges of the Supreme Court. As finally made up, the Commission had eight Republicans and seven Democrats in its number; and on every question they voted eight to seven in favor of the Republican electors. So Hayes received 185 electoral votes and became the next President. It is very difficult to tell who really was elected, there had been so much fraud on both sides; but the Democrats insisted that they had been cheated out of the presidency.

Hayes Inaugurated. In few countries could such a trying

situation have been solved without bloodshed. Great credit is due to Tilden, who accepted the result calmly and advised his followers against any violence. Hayes was inaugurated quietly and made an excellent President. The opposition of the Democrats and of the leaders of the Republican party, however, made it difficult for him to accomplish much in the way of reform.

JAMES A. GARFIELD,
1831–1881

James Garfield was the youngest of four children left to the care of a widowed mother on an Ohio pioneer farm. The boy played his part nobly in the hard struggle for a bare living. He had worked his way through Williams college at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. Garfield at once enlisted and served so ably that he won the rank of major general in the first two years of fighting.

In 1863, while at the front, Garfield's home district elected him its representative to Congress. At Lincoln's request, he resigned his command, and took his seat among the lawmakers. Garfield's work there was so thoroughly appreciated that he was reelected eight times, and at the time of his nomination and election to the presidency had been offered the senatorship by his grateful state.

The Need for Civil Service Reform. The real difficulty in the civil service lay in the commonly accepted idea that any American was capable of filling any public office, and in the political practice which had developed from the theory that "To the victors belong the spoils." The spoils system, which had begun with Andrew Jackson's wholesale dismissal from office of those who had not supported him, had become the regular

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system when a new president was elected, especially if he belonged to a different political party. At the beginning of the Civil War there had been more excuse than usual for making many changes, because many important offices had been filled by those whose sympathies were with the South. Lincoln complained, however, about the large share of his time which was occupied by office-seekers and their friends. Grant found the same problem, and made an attempt to carry out a plan for reform through a Civil Service Commission. "The present system does not secure the best men, and not even fit men for public place," he said. But the politicians in Congress were opposed to any system which would take the appointments to office out of their control, and the problem remained unsolved.

President Hayes did what he could in the way of reform. He startled the party leaders by declaring that no government official should take any active part in a political campaign nor pay assessments on his salary for political purposes. With regard to certain appointments he wrote: "Let no man be put out because he is a friend of Mr. ——, and no one put in merely because he is our friend. The good of the service should be the whole end in view."

Election of 1880. Such an attitude toward public offices was not at all to the liking of politicians who had been accustomed to use government positions as rewards for those who had befriended them, and Hayes became very unpopular among the party leaders. A determined but unsuccessful effort was made in 1880 to nominate Grant for a third term. Instead, the Republicans named James A. Garfield of Ohio, who had not been considered as a candidate, but was serving as chairman of the nominating convention. Having satisfied the reform element of the party by naming Garfield, the convention then selected Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice-President to please those who approved of the spoils system. The Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock, a veteran of the Civil War. Garfield was elected.

The Martyrdom of the President Emphasized Need for Reform. After Garfield's inauguration came the impossible task of parceling out the public offices in such a way as to please the two wings of the Republican party. So bitter became the dispute over the

offices that one disappointed office-seeker attempted to solve the problem by killing President Garfield. The murder was clearly the result of the workings of the spoils system; and it had the effect of awakening the whole country to the necessity for making a radical change in the method of appointing men to government positions. Vice-President Arthur, who had been known as a

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,
1830–1886

Chester A. Arthur was a successful lawyer, and was looked upon as a clever politician and strong opponent to civil service reform before his nomination to the vice-presidency. He owed his place on the Republican ticket to a desire to win the support of a section of the voters known as "Grant-Republicans," who favored everything for which the Grant administration had stood.

When the assassination of Garfield made Arthur the President, many people feared that he would use his great power to oppose civil service reform. President Arthur, however, made an honorable record for himself. He not only refrained from appointing men to office for purely political reasons, but actually extended the civil service rules.

spoils system advocate, became, as President, a supporter of the reform movement; and Congress, in 1883, passed a law creating the Civil Service Commission.

The Merit System Established. Under this law a system was established by which an applicant for office must pass an examination successfully. All assessments or contributions from office holders to a political campaign were forbidden. The law gave

the President authority to say which public offices should be filled by competitive examination and which under the old plan of direct appointment. At first, the new plan was tried out among the clerks of the customhouse and certain other government offices. It proved successful, and the presidents since Arthur's time have included more and more offices within the "classified service," as the new system was called. As a result, there are now hundreds of thousands of government positions, to which a person cannot be appointed until he has shown his fitness by passing an appropriate examination. After his appointment, he need have no fear of dismissal because a new president is elected. This *Merit System* has secured, on the whole, better men for the positions, and has relieved incoming presidents of an overwhelming burden.

CHAPTER XXXI

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

I. Financial Problems of the Civil War — *Thompson, pp. 319–321*

A. Money before the war
   1. State banks.

B. How the war was paid for
   1. Taxes. (*a*) The tariff. (*b*) Internal revenue. (*c*) Income tax.
   2. Loans. (*a*) Bonds. (*b*) Greenbacks.

C. The National Bank Act of 1863
   1. Purpose.
   2. Results.

II. The Demand for More Currency — *Hart, p. 360*

A. A period of declining prices
   1. Causes of the decline. — *Thompson, pp. 335–356, 462–464*
   2. Panic of 1873.

B. The resumption of specie payment

C. Rise of the Greenback party
   1. Effect of low prices on debtors.
   2. The demand for more greenbacks.

D. The silver question
   1. Western miners demand free coinage of silver.
   2. The answer to the demand. (*a*) Bland-Allison Act. (*b*) Effect of returning prosperity.
   3. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act. (*a*) Its effect. (*b*) Panic of 1893. (*c*) Repeal of Purchase Act.
   4. Election of 1896. (*a*) Democrats favor free silver — Bryan. (*b*) Republicans for gold standard — McKinley. (*c*) McKinley elected. (*d*) Gold standard established.
   5. Effect of gold discoveries.

E. Paying the war debt

III. The War and the Tariff

A. Effect of tariff on industry
   1. Increased manufacturing.
   2. Development of steel industry.
   3. Decline of shipbuilding.

B. The demand for continued protection
   1. Internal revenue taxes reduced.
   2. High tariff continued.

IV. The Tariff Becomes a Party Issue — *Thompson, pp. 402–404; Fite, pp. 446–447*

A. Protection and high prices
   1. Tariff act of 1883.
   2. The election of 1884.

B. The Democrats in power
   1. Cleveland and the tariff.
   2. Election of 1888.

C. The McKinley tariff of 1890
   1. The problem of the surplus.
   2. Election of 1892.

D. The see-saw of tariff legislation
   1. High tariff *vs.* low tariff.
   2. The effect on business.
   3. The Tariff Commission.

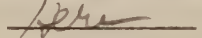
Problems

TOPIC

II. If the amount of money in the country were suddenly doubled, what would be the effect on the price of wheat?

III. Why do people often object more to a tax on theater tickets and ice-cream sodas than to a tariff duty on woolens or steel rails?

Exercise: Get a greenback or United States note and read the promise to pay on the face of it. Compare this with the promise to pay on a bank note and with a promissory note such as one business man gives to another.



The Money of a Government. Without money it would be impossible to carry on modern business. Money serves both as a measure of value and as a medium of exchange. It is therefore of the greatest importance that whatever is used for the purpose should have a value as certain and unchanging as possible. Before the Civil War, the paper money of the country was in the form of notes issued by state banks. These notes were nothing but promises of the bank issuing them to pay the face value, in coin, on demand. Their value was uncertain; for sometimes a bank failed, and then its notes were worthless. A man was always running a risk in accepting one of these bank notes because it was only as reliable as the bank which issued it.

With the coming of the Civil War, great changes took place in the currency of the country as a result of the government's efforts to meet the expenses of the war. A government is like an individual: it cannot pay bills without money. The two principal

ways by which a government gets money are by taxation and by borrowing. Both methods were used by the Federal government.

Revenue from Taxation. Very early in the Civil War, Congress passed measures which greatly increased taxes. These were of three kinds: a tariff, or tax on imports; an internal revenue, or tax levied on goods produced within the country; and an income tax. All three of these were increased from time to time as the expenses of the war mounted higher, and other articles were added to the lists until almost everything was being taxed.

The Government as a Borrower. But the revenue from taxation was not sufficient. So the government borrowed. In the course of the war, citizens lent the government over $2,000,000,000 by purchasing interest-paying bonds. In addition over $450,000,000 in promissory notes or "greenbacks" were issued. These notes were made legal tender[1] for all purposes except the payment of import duties, and therefore became a kind of "forced loan" without interest. Like all promissory notes, their value depended upon the holder's faith that they would be paid in full. As the war continued and the national debt increased to enormous proportions, the greenbacks depreciated until $100 in gold would buy as much as $285 in greenbacks.[2] When the credit of the country improved after the war, the value of the notes likewise increased.

The National Bank Act of 1863. In order to better the condition of the currency and to hasten the sale of the war bonds, Congress in 1863 provided for the incorporation of National Banks. Under this law any group of people with at least $50,000 as capital could organize a National Bank. It must then purchase United States bonds with one-third of its capital and deposit them in the national treasury. Having complied with these conditions, the National Bank could then issue bank notes,

[1] That is, if these legal tender notes were offered or "tendered" in payment of a debt, the creditor, according to law, must accept them at their face value.

[2] At one time, during this period of depreciation, a custom bootmaker in Keene, N. H., advertised boots at $25.00 a pair. If a customer offered greenbacks he paid the advertised price; but if he offered gold, he could get his boots for $10.00.

or paper money, not to exceed 90% of the market value of the bonds deposited. Another law levied such a heavy tax on notes issued by state banks that they found it more profitable to become National Banks, if they wished to continue to issue notes. The results of the Bank Act of 1863 justified the hopes of those who urged the plan. Thousands of National Banks were organized and purchased large amounts of bonds. The bank notes which they issued provided a convenient and safe kind of money. Even if a National Bank should fail, those who held its notes would not lose. For in that case, the bonds deposited in the national treasury would be sold and the proceeds used to redeem the outstanding bank notes.

Effect of the War on Prices and Resulting Overspeculation. During the war and for a few years immediately thereafter, the prices of everything rose to very high figures. Wheat, for example, sold as high as $2.85 a bushel, and cotton was forty-three cents a pound. The high prices tempted everyone to produce all he could to sell; and with the return of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to productive activity, and the coming to America of other hundreds of thousands of immigrants (see page 389), the amount produced became greater than the demand. Prices fell so rapidly that thousands of men were practically ruined. Wheat dropped to ninety-eight cents a bushel, cotton to seven cents a pound, and other farm products accordingly.

To add to the distress, there came numerous failures in the business world, brought on by overspeculation. Millions of dollars had been put into new railroads and other new enterprises which could not be profitable for years to come. The resulting panic of 1873 [1] was one of the worst in our history, and its effects were felt for many years.

The Demand for Sound Money. Many of the thinking men of the country were convinced that one cause of this panic was the existence of too much paper money. They began to urge

[1] The real cause of panics is hard to understand. They have come in this country at almost regular intervals: 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907. Why this should be true no one knows. Some have suggested that it is because each generation of young men has to learn the hard lesson that "get rich quick" schemes do not pay.

that steps be taken toward the redemption of the greenbacks in coin. When these notes had been issued during the war, silver and gold had quickly disappeared from use.[1] It had even been necessary to issue fractional paper currency to take the place of dimes, quarters, and half-dollars. Such a condition could not be permanent, and in 1875 Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds, if necessary, to secure a stock of gold to redeem the greenbacks. Congress set January 1, 1879, as the date for the resumption of specie payment. The amount of greenbacks was gradually reduced to about $350,000,000; to offset this, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, gathered together over $100,000,000 in gold. When the date for the resumption of specie payment arrived, and people knew that they could get gold for their greenbacks by asking for it, they no longer cared for the gold. Very few of the notes were presented for redemption. According to law, the Treasurer always keeps a stock of gold on hand so that at any time the holder of a greenback can have his note redeemed. Under these circumstances, the greenbacks have become " as good as gold." When the greenbacks are redeemed, the old and worn notes are destroyed, and duplicates issued in their stead. The amount in circulation, therefore, remains the same.

The Greenback Party. There were other men in the United States, however, who believed that the country needed more paper money instead of less. The low prices for farm products and the financial distress caused by the panic made it almost impossible for the debtors in the nation to meet their obligations. This was particularly true among the farmers of the middle west and the south who had borrowed money expecting to be able to repay it when they sold their wheat or cotton at high prices. These farmers now came to the conclusion that the cure for their troubles was more currency. They argued that if there were

[1] This is in accordance with a well-known law that cheaper money will drive the more valuable money out of circulation. The reason is simple. In buying goods abroad, only gold or silver (usually gold) can be used, and the supply on hand is drained out of the country. Similarly any person who is saving up a little money will of course hoard gold, rather than greenbacks, because he feels more sure that it will be of full value when he needs it.

more money in the country, the price of wheat and cotton would be higher, and they would find it easier to pay their debts. They demanded that the government issue more greenbacks, and organized a Greenback party which nominated candidates for President and Vice-President in 1876, 1880, and 1884. Its greatest success was in the Congressional election of 1878, when it cast a million votes and elected fifteen members of Congress.

Increased Silver Production and Its Effect. Just at this time a new element came into the situation. In 1873, enormous deposits of silver had been discovered in Nevada and a little later in other mountain states, and the greatly increased production of silver lowered the price of that metal.[1] The western miners now took up the demand for an increased volume of currency, but insisted that the proper way to get it was to provide for the free coinage of silver. This would not only supply the demand for more money, but would make a market for their silver. The idea took; and free coinage of silver became a popular demand all through the south and the west. Richard P. Bland, Congressman from Missouri, became such a persistent advocate of the cause that he was nicknamed "Silver Dollar Dick." He introduced a bill which passed the House of Representatives, providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver dollars at the ratio with gold of 16 to 1.[2] The Senate was opposed to the free coinage of silver, and finally a compromise bill was adopted, the Bland-Allison Act, instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to buy a certain quantity of silver each month, and coin it into silver dollars.

A Period of Prosperity. The next year (1879) saw the return of prosperity to the United States. There were abundant harvests in America; at the same time the wheat crop of Europe was

[1] In the same year (1873) Congress passed a new law which, among other things, discontinued the coinage of the silver dollar. For forty years practically no silver had been presented at the mints, and there seemed to be no reason for keeping an unused coin on the list. Silver advocates later referred to this law as the "Crime of 1873."

[2] The ratio means that a silver dollar would weigh 16 times as much as a gold dollar. "Free and unlimited coinage" of silver means that any person having silver bullion could take it to a United States mint and have it coined into silver dollars, by simply paying the actual cost of minting.

much smaller than usual and the cotton crop of India was almost a total failure. The export demand for farm products at high prices brought in ready money, and the demand for an increase in the currency was silenced for the time being.

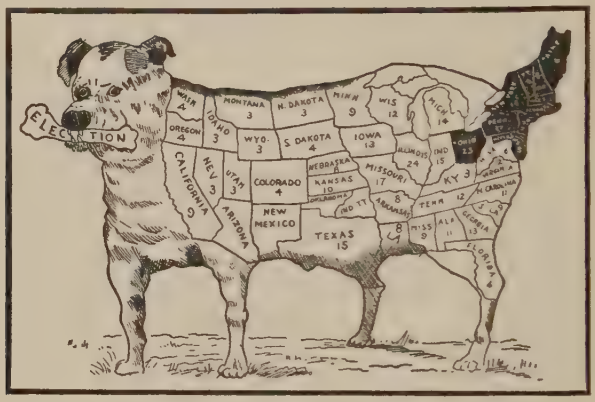
The Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The silver men were not satisfied, however, and eleven years later they succeeded in getting another law through Congress, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, providing for the purchase by the government of much larger amounts of silver each month. This silver was to be paid for with a new issue of treasury notes which were redeemable in coin on demand. A large increase in the amount of

"The Gold Reserve Taking Passage for Europe"

money in circulation was the result; men became fearful that the cheaper money would drive out the more valuable, and they began to hoard gold. There was also a large foreign demand for gold, and great amounts were exported. To get it, greenbacks were presented to the Treasury for redemption, and the government soon found it necessary to sell bonds in order to keep up its stock of gold. When the greenbacks were presented for redemption they could not be destroyed but were reissued, and might then be presented again for redemption. Furthermore, the silver men continued to bring in their silver, for which they were paid in treasury notes; these also could at once be presented for redemption. This "endless chain" made it more and more

difficult for the government to secure the necessary supply of gold; and in spite of repeated bond sales the stock of gold in the Treasury became smaller and smaller. The panic of 1893 made the situation more tense; Congress became convinced that the Silver Purchase Act was the cause of at least a part of the financial distress, and the law was repealed.

Free Coinage of Silver as a Campaign Issue. The question of silver coinage now became the chief political issue in the country. The hard times, lack of work, low wages, and low prices for farm products which followed the panic of 1893 were said by

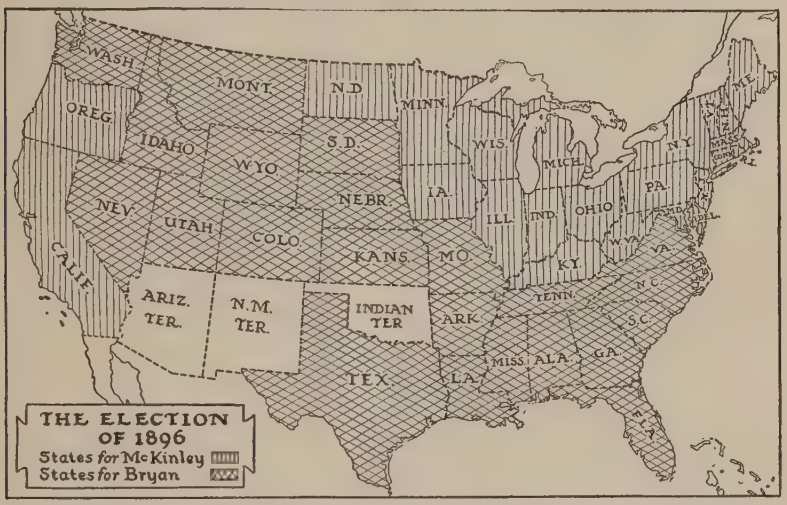


"The Silver Dog with the Golden Tail"

the free silver advocates to be due to the scarcity of money in the country. The Democratic convention of 1896 was controlled by the free silver men, who nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska [1] for President on a platform demanding "the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one." The Republicans nominated William Mc-

[1] Bryan was one of the most persuasive orators America has ever produced. He won the nomination for President at this time by a three-hour speech in behalf of free silver. He ended his speech thus: "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold."

Kinley of Ohio, on a platform which favored a gold standard unless all the nations would agree to a bimetallic standard. The campaign was an exciting one, in which many men forgot party lines and voted for "honest money," or for "free silver." The Republicans were successful, and Congress passed a law establishing the gold standard. A later discovery of rich gold deposits in Alaska added greatly to the supply of that metal, and an increased volume of gold coin was thus made possible. The



The question of the free coinage of silver was the leading issue in the election of 1896. The stronghold of the gold standard was the northeast, while the south and the west voted for Bryan and free silver.

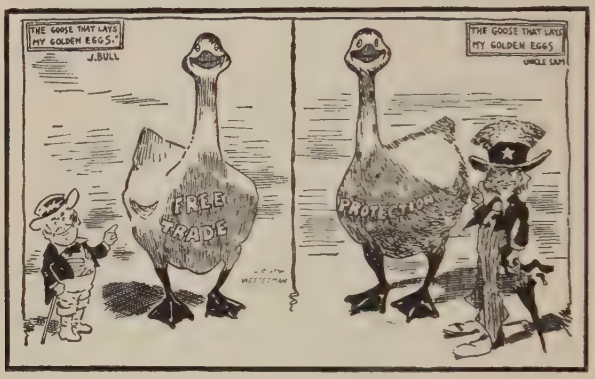
Democrats renewed the campaign for free silver in 1900, but the issue had ceased to attract attention.

Taxation a Financial Problem of the Government. The close of the Civil War had left the country face to face with other financial problems. Various Secretaries of the Treasury solved one of these, in the quarter century following the war, by paying off a large share of the great war debt and by reducing the rate of interest on the remainder.

Another important problem was the question of taxation. Taxes had become very high under the necessities of war. People

had endured them at that time because winning the war was the important thing; but as soon as the war was over there came a demand for a reduction.

The Demand for a Protective Tariff. The manufacturers of the country objected to having the tax on imports lowered. They had found the protection afforded by the high tariff rates a great boon to their prosperity.[1] Industries had developed at a



"Two Geese"

rapid rate. The total value of manufactured articles more than doubled between 1860 and 1870. In the industrial districts wages had also increased, and were higher than in other countries. The manufacturing interests of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey,

[1] How a high tariff rate "protects" a manufacturer can be shown by a simple illustration. Let us suppose that a foreign watch manufacturer, say in Switzerland, can make a certain watch and sell it with a small profit at $10. Then we levy a tariff duty of $5 on each watch. The foreign watch, after paying this tax, must sell for $15 instead of $10. Now we will suppose that there is an American manufacturer making the same grade of watches. He pays higher wages and the cost of manufacturing is greater. The American manufacturer cannot make a profit if he sells his watches at less than $12. What happens with a high tariff is this: either the American manufacturer sells his watches at $12 and gets most of the business, or, more probably, he increases the price to $14 or $15 and thus makes a larger profit. Let us suppose now that the tariff rate is reduced to $2 on each watch. The foreign watches can now sell at $12, and the American manufacturer must accept a smaller profit. If the import duty is entirely removed, the foreign watches will sell at $10, and the American manufacturer must lower his costs by reducing wages or other economies, or he will be forced out of business.

and New England, where the industrial development was greatest, had become strong believers in a protective tariff.

Perhaps the greatest development of all had come in the steel industry. The production of steel rails, for example, was forty times as great in 1881 as in 1870. A very high tariff duty had been placed on steel, so high that very little steel was imported, and the American manufacturers controlled the market. The prices in the United States were much higher than in England or Germany.

Decline of Shipbuilding in America. One unfortunate result of the high prices in the steel industry was the rapid decline of American shipbuilding. In the days of wooden ships, before the Civil War, American shipyards had turned out the swiftest and handsomest sailing craft which the world had ever seen, and her clippers and packets had found their way into every port in the world. But when iron steamships came into general use, there was a different story to tell. Wooden ships had been built more cheaply in America than in Europe; but owing largely to the high cost of steel, American shipbuilders found it impossible to compete with English and German shipyards in the construction of iron ships. Except in the trade between American ports, from which foreign vessels are shut out by act of Congress American ships almost disappeared from the ocean.

Congressional Efforts to Lower Taxes. The problem before Congress of lowering the high taxes of the war period, and at the same time continuing the high tariff which the manufacturers of the east were demanding, was solved by lowering the income tax and the internal revenue taxes, and leaving the tariff practically unchanged. The internal revenue taxes had always been unpopular and finally they were all taken off except those on tobacco and liquors.

Appointment of a Tariff Commission. The prices of manufactured goods remained high, and there was a demand on the part of consumers for a reduction in the tariff also. In 1882, a tariff commission was appointed, which made a very careful study of the problem, and recommended a big decrease in tariff rates. Those who favored high protective duties were very

powerful in Congress, however, and the report of the commission received almost no consideration. The tariff bill of 1883 lowered the rates very little.

The Tariff a Party Issue. The tariff was rapidly becoming a party issue. The northeastern section of the country, where the manufacturing interests were strong, was also the center of Republican power. The agricultural south had never favored a high tariff, and the Democrats found their chief strength in this section. Since 1880 the tariff issue has always played a part in each presidential election: the Republican party always favoring a high protective tariff, and the Democrats just as regularly declaring in favor of a lower tariff.

Grover Cleveland, 1837–1908

Election of 1884. In 1884, the movement for reform (see page 406) was still powerful in the Republican party. Its leaders, however, felt safe in ignoring the demand, and named as their candidate for President, James G. Blaine, of Maine, for many years a member of Congress, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Secretary of State under Garfield. Blaine was not at all satisfactory to the reform element of the party, because he had been too closely identified with some of the government scandals of the period, and because it was feared he would undo the civil service reform. Therefore, when the Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, a comparatively unknown lawyer who had been a reform mayor of Buffalo and later a reform governor of New York, the dissatisfied Republicans decided to vote for Cleveland. As a result he was elected, the first Democrat to become President in a quarter of a century.

It seemed a terrible thing to many old soldiers in the North, and to many ex-slaves in the South, that a Democrat should go into the White House. Tales are told of southern negroes who

wept all night, believing it meant a return to slavery. But the whole country soon found that a Democrat could make just as good a President as a Republican. Cleveland carried forward the work of civil service reform, much to the disgust of political office-seekers, and vetoed a great many unwise appropriation measures.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1833–1901

Benjamin Harrison, great-grandson of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and grandson of the ninth President of the United States, was a lawyer and court reporter in Indiana at the outbreak of the Civil War. He assisted in recruiting a regiment of which he became colonel, and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general before the end of the war.

In civil life he served on several important commissions and in the United States Senate before becoming President.

President Cleveland and the Tariff Issue. He soon made it clear, however, that he regarded a reduction of the tariff as the most important issue before the country. His annual message to Congress in December, 1887, was devoted entirely to the necessity for tariff changes. Congress paid little heed to his recommendations.

Harrison's Election a Victory for the Protective Tariff. In the election of 1888, Cleveland was defeated by Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, the Republican candidate. The principal issue in the campaign was the question of tariff revision; and although the election was very close, the Republicans decided that the majority of the voters were in favor of even higher tariff.

The Disposal of the Surplus. So in 1890, the McKinley tariff bill was passed, increasing the duties on a great many articles. The manufacturers of the north, whose profits were greater when tariff rates were high, persuaded congress that the prosperity of the country depended on the continuance of a protective tariff. To satisfy the farmers of the west, the tariff rate on a long list of farm products was also made much higher. One of the prob-

lems of Cleveland's administration was due to the fact that the taxes were bringing in more money than the government needed for its expenses, and the disposal of the surplus was a serious question. The Republican Congress soon solved the problem by passing a new pension bill which provided for paying much larger pensions to ex-soldiers, their widows and orphans, and also by making much larger appropriations for public improvements and for the navy. This Congress was long known as the "billion dollar Congress," because its total appropriations reached that large sum.

Democratic Triumphs. No sooner was the tariff bill of 1890 passed than there was a general increase in the price of articles on which the tax was higher. With this object lesson of the effect of the tariff on prices before them, many voters turned to the Democratic party. A Democratic Congress was elected in November, 1890, and in the presidential election of 1892, Cleveland defeated Harrison. The Democrats then undertook to frame a tariff measure, but the severe financial panic of 1893 increased the difficulty of their task, and the resulting tariff was not satisfactory either to the protectionists or the low tariff advocates.

Results of Republican Victory of 1896. The Republicans came back into power in 1896 and the next year a new tariff, with the highest rates the country had ever seen, was adopted.

Tariff Should Not Be a Party Question. It is a serious misfortune to the business of the country that the tariff has become a political question, subject to the see-saw of party politics. For the past forty years every change from one party to the other in control of the national government has been accompanied by a change in tariff policy.[1] The result has been that whenever a

[1] The principal tariff bills since 1890 are as follows:

1890	McKinley Tariff	Republicans
1894	Wilson–Gorman Tariff	Democrats
1897	Dingley Tariff	Republicans
1909	Payne–Aldrich Tariff	Republicans
1913	Underwood Tariff	Democrats
1922	Fordney Tariff	Republicans

The Payne–Aldrich law of 1909, revising a tariff which had been passed by Republicans, was due to a widespread demand that tariff rates be lowered. In the campaign of 1908 the Republicans promised such a "revision of the tariff by its friends."

presidential election approached, especially if it seemed likely to be closely contested, business men have hesitated about going ahead with their plans; and if the election resulted in the overthrow of the party in power, there has been another period of anxious waiting while a new tariff measure was being worked out by Congress.

"Now We Can Get up Steam Again"

Wages are higher in the United States than in other countries, and many Americans are convinced that the only way to maintain the higher American wage scale is to keep the protective tariff. On the other hand, the cost of living is higher in America than elsewhere, and many people believe that the heavy duties on imports are an important cause of higher prices. The question of how high the tariff wall needs to be to protect American industry, and at what point it becomes merely an excuse for higher prices, is not a political question at all. It is a question for careful study by students of economics. In 1916 a new tariff commission was established to make a study of the effects of the tariff, but so far Congress has been very slow in accepting its findings.

The Fordney-McCumber tariff, which President Harding signed in September of 1922, was twenty months in the making. It is, in the main, highly protective, though with flexible provisions which permit the President to adjust rates so as to equalize the cost of production within the United States with that in competing foreign countries. If conditions warrant it, he may also transfer a dutiable article to the free list, or one on the free list to the dutiable list.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE AGE OF BIG BUSINESS

I. Industrial Conditions at the Close of the Civil War — *Tappan, pp. 217–227*; *Van Loon, pp. 390–400*
- A. Unknown inventions
- B. Undeveloped resources
- C. Small scale manufacturing

II. The Oil Industry
- A. Discovery of oil
- B. Standard Oil Company

III. The Story of Steel
- A. Invention of Bessemer Process
- B. Pittsburg a steel center
  1. Andrew Carnegie.
- C. Steel industry in Colorado
- D. Birmingham
- E. United States Steel Corporation

IV. The Age of Inventions — *Tappan, pp. 71–78, 115–121*
- A. The cable
- B. The telephone
- C. Thomas A. Edison
  1. Phonograph.
  2. Electric lights.
  3. Trolley cars.
  4. Moving picture machine.
- D. The arc light

V. Transcontinental Railroads — *Tappan, pp. 168–178*
- A. Railroad combination

VI. Agricultural Machinery — *Poems, p. 579*; *Tappan, pp. 20–29*
- A. McCormick reaper
  1. In America.
  2. Abroad.
- B. Other farm machinery
- C. International Harvester Company

VII. The Automobile Industry

A. Importance of the industry
   1. Inventions.

B. Henry Ford

C. Combinations of capital or trusts

Problems

TOPIC

II. Are there any ways in which a large corporation can give better service to the public than a small one?

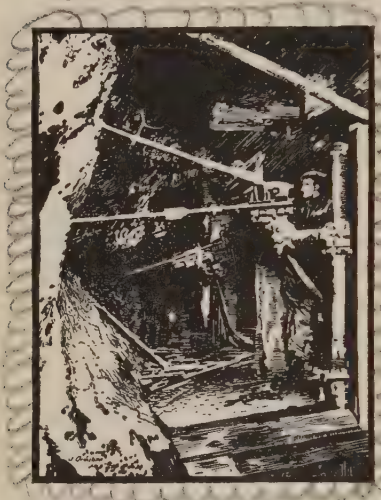
VII. What effect would the perfected airplane have upon import tariffs?

Special Report: Life of Edison (see page 578)

Industrial Development of Civil War Days. The great outstanding fact of our country's history in the last sixty years is its unparalleled industrial development. Even at the time of the Civil War, the United States was regarded as one of the leading manufacturing countries of the world; but when we think back to the conditions of that period, we can scarcely believe the tremendous changes which have taken place since that time. In 1865, there was not a single transcontinental railroad; and even between New York and Chicago passengers had to change cars at least half a dozen times. The telegraph system [1] had been pretty well developed and the Western Union had offices in all the principal towns; but there were no telephones, no cables, nor was there any wireless. The cities of that day had some paved streets and horse cars; but sewers were almost unknown. The streets were still lighted with dim flickering gas lights; for electric lights and trolley cars were still in the future. Two-thirds of the people of the United States lived on farms; country roads were poor, and there were no automobiles, no telephones, no rural free delivery of mail to relieve the monotony; and in 1860 the new mowers and reapers were only beginning to take the place of the old back-breaking scythes and cradles.

[1] Samuel F. B. Morse invented the telegraph (1837) after years of experimentation. Six years later Congress appropriated money to aid in the establishment of the first telegraph system.

Undeveloped Mineral Resources. Even more surprising is the story of our mineral resources. Although today, the United States supplies half the world with copper, in 1865 we were importing it for our own use. Sixty per cent of all the known coal deposits are in America; but at that time we were bringing large supplies of coal from Nova Scotia. All the iron ore which had been mined in the country from the beginning of history to 1865 was not greater than the production of a single year now.



COMPRESSED AIR DRILLS IN THE ANACONDA COPPER MINE, MONTANA

The greatest copper producing region in the world is the Butte district in Montana. Such labor saving devices as the compressed air drills have taken the place of the man with a pick, and have made possible the large scale production which is carried on.

Small Scale Manufacturing Usual. The United States was already doing a great deal of manufacturing, but there were very few corporations. Nearly all the factories were owned by individuals or by partnerships; and the stock companies which existed were all small ones. There were not more than forty or fifty millionaires in the whole country. The age of "big business" was to be wholly a product of the period following the Civil War.

The Development of the Oil Industry. In 1859, the first oil well was drilled near Titusville, Pennsylvania. Before this discovery candles and evil-smelling whale oil lamps had been the only source of light for millions of American homes. But a process of refining the crude petroleum was soon developed, and kerosene became popular all over the world. The oil fields of western Pennsylvania were soon as busy as bee hives. At first the oil industry began as other industries had begun, with a great many individuals competing with each other. But about 1870, John D. Rockefeller of Cleveland built several oil refin-

eries and bought others, organized the Standard Oil Company, and proceeded by various means to get control of almost the whole oil business. The company was soon able to ship its oil by the trainload, and the railroads made rates to the Standard Oil Company much lower than other shippers could get. The Company also gained control of railroads, pipe lines, and refineries in many parts of the country, and producers were often forced to sell to the Standard Oil because they were completely shut off from reaching any other market. The immense profits which the stockholders received were invested in other enterprises, especially in railroads. Men who were interested in the Standard Oil Company became directors in many other organizations, and the power of this small group became tremendous. The Company was able to develop and find a market for other products of the crude petroleum which the small refineries had been throwing away. Paraffine, benzine, and particularly gasoline, have been found to possess great value. Big deposits of oil were afterward discovered in other parts of the country, especially in Ohio, Texas, Oklahoma, and California. The production and refining of oil has become one of the most important industries in America.

Growth of the Steel Industry. What is true of oil is also true of steel. It is impossible today to imagine a world without steel; but until 1870 steel, except for cutlery, was almost unknown in the United States. Steel is iron specially treated so that it may be readily tempered or hardened. The process was very expensive until Henry Bessemer, an Englishman, invented a new method. To make steel cheaply, it is necessary to have cheap iron ore, limestone, and fuel. Andrew Carnegie was the genius who made Pittsburgh a center of the steel industry. The coal of that district makes excellent coke, the best fuel for steel production. In Michigan and Minnesota, near the shores of Lake Superior, are great mountains of iron ore which a huge steam shovel can dip up and load on open cars. The Carnegie Steel Company purchased many acres of this valuable land, built a fleet of boats to carry the ore from Lake Superior to the southern shore of Lake Erie, and bought a railroad, the Bessemer and Lake Erie, to bring that ore

to their Pittsburgh mills. Other manufacturers were also in the field, and the steel area spread until it included western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Two entirely new steel kingdoms also grew up, one in Colorado and another in Alabama. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company found abundant supplies of iron ore and coal in that state, and soon was producing half as much steel as Great Britain. In 1870,

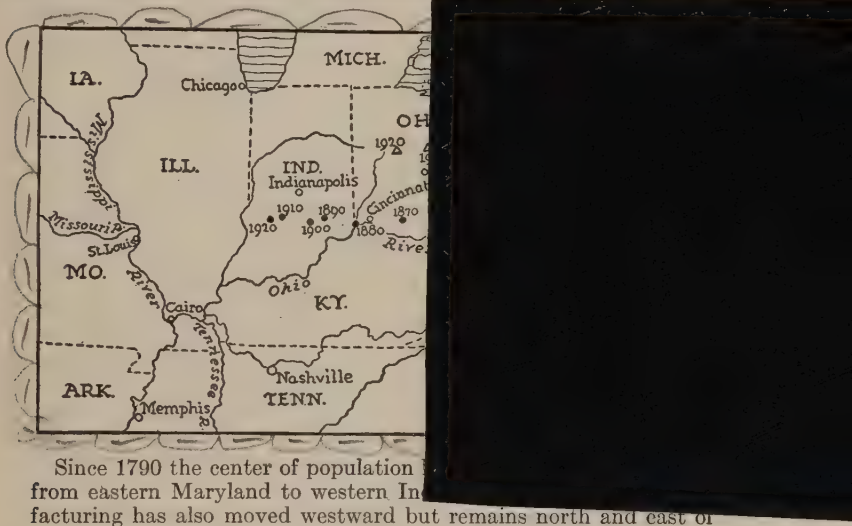
Interior of a Steel Rail Plant

The substitution of steel products for those of iron has been the principal change in recent years in the iron and steel industry. Practically all the pig iron now produced in the United States is converted into steel. The manufacture of steel rails is one of the most important of its uses.

the present site of Birmingham, Alabama, was merely a blacksmith shop at the fork of the roads. But all three of the essentials for steel production, coal, limestone, and iron ore, were discovered here in one locality. Consequently Birmingham has become another great steel kingdom set in the very heart of the cotton empire of the South. Early in the twentieth century a large number of the steel producers of the country combined into a single huge company, the United States Steel Corporation,

with a capital stock of a billion and a half dollars. Steel production, which fifty years ago was almost wholly a British industry, has grown until the United States produces each year more than four times as much as Great Britain or any other country.

New Means of Communication. This same period has seen the development of a great many new inventions which have added much to the comfort of living. In 1866, the first successful cable was stretched across the Atlantic ocean, and telegraphic communication between Europe and America became possible.



Since 1790 the center of population ... from eastern Maryland to western In... facturing has also moved westward but remains north and east of the center of population.

At the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, the Emperor of Brazil, who was a visitor, picked up a curious cone-shaped instrument and put it to his ear, "My God, it talks," was his exclamation. It was the first telephone, the invention of Alexander Graham Bell. For many years it was regarded as nothing more than a plaything, but finally its value was realized. Today there are over 10,000,000 telephones in the United States, which is three times as many as there are in all the rest of the world. In some communities almost every family has a telephone, and in the whole state of Iowa, four out of every five farms are thus

provided. Perhaps no invention has done more to take the loneliness out of country life than the telephone.

The Wonders of Electricity. The greatest of American inventors is Thomas A. Edison. In 1877, he gave to the world the phonograph; two years later the incandescent electric light; three years after that, the electric trolley car; and still later the moving picture machine.[1] These are by no means all of his inventions; but if we stop for a moment to think what a change these have made in our way of living, we shall appreciate what a debt of gratitude we owe to his inventive mind. Forty years ago very few city streets were lighted at all, and those only by gas lights, while most of the people had nothing better than kerosene for their homes. Today the electric arc light, invented by Charles Brush, makes our streets almost like day, and the turning of a single electric switch floods our homes with light from Edison's incandescent lamps. Until 1887, the horse car was the sole dependence for street transportation in our cities. In that year, the first trolley line was put into operation in Richmond, Virginia. Between that date and 1900, most of our cities were equipped with trolley cars, while interurban electric lines stretched out long distances into the surrounding country and even connected distant cities.

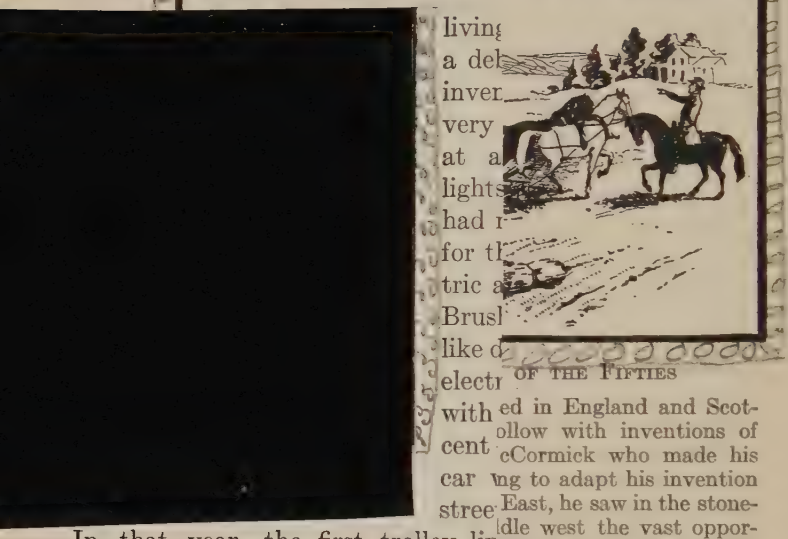
Railroad Consolidation. These new lines had chiefly a local importance. From the standpoint of national history, we are more concerned with the development of the railroads. The movement toward combining short disconnected bits of road into regular railroad systems, which began about 1870 (see page 395),

[1] Many other men had a share in bringing the trolley car and the moving picture machine to their present state of perfection.

continued on an even larger scale in later years. Following the successful completion of the Union Pacific railroad in 1869, other transcontinental lines were built until there were seven such lines to the Pacific coast. Gradually most of the railroads of the country fell into the hands of a few great financiers, and were consolidated into about a dozen vast systems.

New Agricultural Machinery. The change which has affected more people than any of these came about from the development of agricultural machinery. Until the time of the Civil War, farming had been done almost wholly without machinery, the grain sown by hand, reaped with a cradle, and threshed with a flail. Though Cyrus McCormick had patented a reaper in 1834, it had not been used to any great extent. Nearly ten years passed before he was able to sell his first machine. But the Civil War took one-third of all the Northern men for the army, and the resulting shortage of labor made the farmers realize the value of the new machinery. One man could climb into the seat of a McCormick reaper and do the work of a dozen. The use of farm machinery did more than feed the Union armies during the war; it reduced the cost of production so that American farm produce could be sold all over the world. Today the modern farmer uses machinery for a thousand purposes. His reaper cuts and binds his grain, and another machine threshes it and stacks the straw. Potatoes are planted and dug; grain, cotton, and other seeds are sown by machinery. Hay carriers, hay loaders, disk harrows, steam plows, corn planters, corn huskers, tractors, and the like have effected a wonderful transformation in the work of an American farm.

American Inventions Abroad. This machinery has gone all over the globe, until America is known in many parts of the world as "the place from which the reapers come." Bismarck, one of the greatest of German statesmen, was one day examining an American self-binder: "Show me the thing that ties the knots," he said. After looking it over, he asked, "Can these machines be made in Germany?" On being told that they



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established a factory in Chicago and manufactured 500 machines for the harvest of 1848. The self-binding feature of modern reapers was added in 1880.

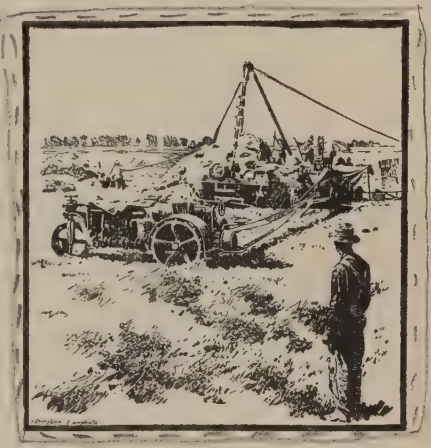
In that year, the first trolley lin

were made only in America, he added, "Those Yankees are ingenious fellows. This is a wonderful machine."

The International Harvester Company. For many years the manufacture of agricultural machinery was in the hands of a large number of independent companies; but the spirit of "big business" crept into this field also. In the early part of the twentieth century a combination of the four largest companies resulted in the International Harvester Company, which makes

three-fourths of the farm machinery used in the United States. The company possesses its own coal fields and iron mines and its own forests, and sells hundreds of thousands of farm implements every year to the 10,000,000 American farmers.

The Automobile Industry. One of the most wonderful triumphs of American genius, however, is the automobile. Its production has become the third largest industry in the United States; only steel and food products outrank it. The success of the automobile depended on two inventions: the internal combustion engine, in which gasoline is generally used as a fuel; and the process of hardening or "vulcanizing" rubber, which makes possible the pneumatic tire. A great many Americans, and Europeans as well, tried for many years to build a satisfactory automobile. Henry Ford made one of the early ones in which he clattered along the streets of Detroit with a great racket. The business developed slowly. As late as 1905 there were only a few automobiles in use; in that year Henry Ford's factory consisted of a little shed where he employed a dozen men. Two years later, however, he produced 10,000 cars, each as like the other as it was possible to make it. Other manufacturers had been content to turn out a few hundred machines a year, and expected only the wealthy to buy. Henry Ford's ideal was a car which everybody could afford. That he has gone a long way toward realizing that ideal is plain to everyone. Today there are millions of automobiles in the United States. Nearly a third of the families in the country own a car; in some states, particularly in the middle west, there are enough



BALING ALFALFA HAY IN ARIZONA

The invention of power machinery for use on the farm has resulted in an enormous increase in production. Such a machine as this saves a vast amount of human labor also.

automobiles so that every person in the state might take a ride at the same time.

The automobile industry, like the other great industries of the twentieth century, has largely come into the control of a few great companies, of which the General Motors Company is the largest. The Ford Motor Company remained outside the trust; it possesses its own coal mines, and has purchased a railroad, to haul coal to the factory and the finished product to the market. Not all the cars are completed at Detroit, many of the engines, gears, wheels and other parts are shipped to Ford assembling plants located in many different sections of the United States, and there put together.

HENRY FORD IN HIS FIRST CAR

Effect of Large Scale Production on Society. With the wonderful developments[1] which have come to pass in the last fifty years, transcontinental railroads, telephones, electric lights, trolley systems, farming machinery, and automobiles, the conditions of life in America have become vastly different from those in the days of our grandfathers. With these changes has come another which has likewise made a great difference in the lives of many men. The machinery of a modern age is no longer produced in small factories. Instead, giant corporations have appeared, which, in their great factories, mills, and mines, employ thousands of men who are little more than cogs in the industrial machinery. It is the age of big business.

[1] Those twentieth century miracles, the airplane, and the radio, are just beginning to fit themselves into the life of the people. Their possibilities for modifying the conditions of living are almost beyond the power of human imagination.

Van Loon

402-412

CHAPTER XXXIII

PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL ERA

I. Labor Problems — *Van Loon, pp. 401–406*

A. Effect of trusts on labor conditions

B. Growth of labor unions
1. Railroad strike of 1877. (*a*) Growth of Knights of Labor.
2. Strikes of 1886. (*a*) Growth of American Federation of Labor.
3. Pullman strike of 1894. (*a*) Use of federal troops.
4. Coal strike of 1902. (*a*) Demand for arbitration.
5. The Industrial Workers of the World. — *Thompson, pp. 346–349, 378–379, 383*
6. Labor unions and the Socialist party.
7. Improved labor conditions.

C. Women and children in industry
1. Child labor laws.

D. Rapid growth of cities
1. Effect on health.
2. Increase of crime.

II. Unrest Among the Farmers

A. Causes
1. Low prices and high interest rates.

B. The Populist Party
1. Election of 1892.

C. The non-partizan league

D. Result of agitation
1. Many reforms adopted.

III. Government Control of Big Business — *Thompson, pp. 397–402*

A. The problem of the trusts — *Fite, pp. 514–516*
1. Popular opposition.
2. Effect of tariff.

B. Attempts to solve the problem
1. Sherman Act of 1890.
2. Roosevelt's policy.
3. Hepburn Act of 1906. (*a*) Regulates railroad rates.
4. Federal Trade Commission.
5. Clayton Act of 1914.

C. The duty of the government

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

I. Why should there be special laws regarding children in factories and stores?

II. Does the farmer have any advantages to make up for his disadvantages? Have "third parties" been of any benefit to progress?

Each Period Brought Its Own Problems. Each period of American history has its own problems. The colonial era had the task of making homes in a wilderness, and protecting those homes from wild beasts and savage Indians. The work of winning political liberty, and establishing a government which could guarantee that liberty, fell to the men of the Revolutionary period. Through a considerable part of the nineteenth century the problem of slavery cast a black shadow over the land, a shadow that was not lifted until the dawn of peace at the close of the Civil War. The industrial era, likewise, brought its own difficulties.

Effect of the Rapid Growth of Corporations. The change in manufacturing from small factories employing a few hundred men to great corporations which control a whole industry, and whose workmen are numbered by the hundred thousand came with great rapidity in the years following the Civil War. A writer in the early twentieth century lists over forty great corporations or trusts,[1] all of which had grown up within a period of twenty years. This rapid growth of large companies made a very important difference in the relations between employer and employee. In the days of small scale production it had been possible for the head of the concern to know each of his workmen personally; but under the new conditions, the owners, who were the stockholders of the company, became many in number, and lived in widely scattered communities. They did not know the details of the business; and they were chiefly interested in getting dividends on their stock. Under the new system of manufacturing a workman did only one small part of the whole

[1] The word "trust" comes from a plan used by the first corporations. All the stock in the companies was turned over to a group of men called trustees who issued receipts for it and held it in trust.

task, and kept doing this one thing over and over. The personal interest which a man took in his work when he made a whole pair of shoes no longer existed when he merely operated a machine which only nailed on the heels. Misunderstandings were certain to arise under these conditions.

The managers of these new plants became, in many cases, salaried men whose jobs depended on their being able to show good earnings. The manager of a steel plant once telegraphed to Andrew Carnegie, "Broke all records for steel production last week." Carnegie replied, "Congratulations. Why not do it every week?" But "doing it every week" could only be brought about by driving the workmen to the limit of their endurance; and these workmen began to have something pretty definite to say about the hours of labor and wages.

Rioting during the Railroad Strike of 1877

The Strike as the Workingman's Weapon. Labor unions of one kind and another have existed almost as long as factories; and long before there were corporations there were strikes in individual plants. With the coming of the age of big business, strikes and other labor disturbances began to assume national importance. The railroads had been the first to unite into larger systems; and it was on the railroads that the first serious difficulties arose. As the old short line roads were swallowed up in the new combinations, possibilities for misunderstandings between railroad employees and officials were greatly increased. Because there was no way to get together and talk over the problems, the strike seemed to be the only weapon left to the workmen.

Railroad Brotherhoods' Strikes. The first great railroad strike came in 1877. The immediate cause was an announcement by the directors of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, of a reduction in wages. The strike spread rapidly to the employees of other

railroads and through fourteen states from New York to Texas. Serious riots occurred in Pittsburgh, where ten million dollars worth of property was destroyed, and a few people killed. It became necessary to call out the troops to restore order.

Several labor unions had already been formed among railroad men, and after the strike of 1877, these gained thousands of new members. Workmen were convinced that it was necessary to unite in order to protect themselves from the power of the great corporations. An organization made up of all classes of workmen, and known as " Knights of Labor " grew very rapidly. By 1886 it had over 700,000 members.

Riots and Strikes. That was a year of strikes. There was a great railroad strike extending into Texas, Missouri, Kansas, and Illinois. The workmen in many other industries made a demand for an eight hour day, and numerous strikes resulted. In Chicago some sixty thousand men and women stopped work. At one of the strikers' meetings in Haymarket Square, some anarchists began to make violent speeches. The police undertook to break up the meeting, whereupon a bomb was thrown which killed several policeman. Seven anarchists were tried and executed for this crime.[1]

The American Federation of Labor. The " Knights of Labor," made up of working men of varying degrees of skill, proved unwieldy, and it was succeeded by the " American Federation of Labor " [2] with Samuel Gompers as its president. Strikes continued; they seemed to have become an inevitable part of the warfare between workmen and employers. In 1894 a serious industrial conflict took place when the Pullman Car Company employees struck against a reduction in wages. Train crews on

[1] Anarchists are those who are opposed to any government, and believe in using any kind of force to destroy existing governments. This was their first appearance in America.

[2] The Knights of Labor had been organized without regard to the various trades in which the members were employed. The organization was not successful, partly because masons, for example, are more interested in their own problems than in those of miners. Under the plan adopted by the American Federation of Labor each trade is organized separately and the several trade unions are federated.

many railroads then refused to work on trains which carried Pullman cars.[1] Rioting endangered the general welfare, and public property in many places was destroyed. President Cleveland was obliged to send Federal troops to Chicago to insure the safety of the United States mails.

Arbitration as a Means of Settlement. A bitterly contested strike among the poorly paid coal miners of Pennsylvania in 1902 threatened for many months to deprive the cities and industries of the northeastern part of the country of fuel. With winter coming on, suffering would have been intense. People began to see that the strife between employers and employees was a war in which the whole community was vitally concerned. The demand grew for some method of ending such industrial disorders. The President of the United States called the leaders of the striking coal miners and of the mine owners to meet at the White House. This was the first time a president had ever taken any part in labor disputes. At first the mine owners were inclined to resent government interference; but finally an agreement was reached to *arbitrate*[2] the question at issue.

LABOR AND CAPITAL

"You fellows would make more headway if you pulled the same way."

Governmental Efforts to Avoid Strikes. Strikes became a very serious matter. Between 1880 and 1905 there were nearly

[1] Such action as that of the railroad employees is known as a "sympathetic strike." Labor union men believe that all workmen are engaged in a great warfare against "capital" and ought to help each other in this struggle.

[2] Theodore Roosevelt, the president at this time, appointed a Commission which made a careful study of the things about which the coal miners had complained. The miners were granted an increase in wages and some of their other demands.

40,000 strikes and lockouts, affecting over 9,000,000 employees. Many efforts have been made to find a way to avoid this costly and sometimes barbarous warfare. Congress has passed laws providing for a board of arbitration to which disputes may be referred. Many of the states have passed similar laws. Neither employers nor labor unions seem entirely willing to accept either national or state arbitration. Kansas has gone a step farther and has adopted a law making strikes illegal until after a state commission has had an opportunity to investigate the trouble.

LABOR LEADERS AND SENATORS DISCUSS LABOR DISPUTE

In its domestic affairs, as well as in its foreign relations, our nation shows a growing desire to "talk over" and settle its troubles peacefully.

Other forms of compulsory arbitration have been tried in other countries; but have not been wholly successful.

Employers' Welfare Work. Some employers have tried to avoid strikes by endeavoring to improve the condition of their workmen. Welfare work has been undertaken, such as night schools, playgrounds, free medical attention, and the like. The Ford Motor Company has tried a different plan. In 1914 it reduced the hours of labor to eight, established a wage scale of five dollars a day or more, and introduced a plan by which the workers share in the profits of the company. In other places,

some method of self-government has been tried, such as the shop committee plan. Under this the workmen elect certain of their number to talk over with the manager or other responsible persons the things that are causing friction. It has often been found that when the two sides have come together and understood each other's point of view, a satisfactory solution of the problem was possible.

The Industrial Workers of the World. In the twentieth century a new type of labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, made its appearance among the unskilled laborers of the West. Some of the leaders advised every member to obtain a rifle, and every union to have a rifle club. In a terrible strike in Colorado, dynamite and guns were used, and many people killed. Many of the strikers were forcibly sent out of the state by the militia. The strike spread to other states, and terrorism reached a climax in the murder of the governor of Idaho. The Industrial Workers of the World have also led many other strikes, especially one among the cotton mill workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, and another among the silk workers of Paterson, New Jersey, the next year.

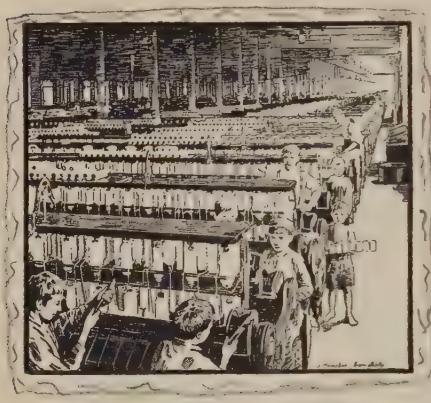
Asserting that the "struggle must go on until the workers of the world as a class take possession of the earth and the machinery of production," this organization not only employs strikes but a new method called sabotage.[1] In an effort to do all possible injury to employers, members of the I. W. W. are instructed to work as slowly as possible, or to plan an "accident" which will delay work, or to smash an expensive piece of machinery.

Such methods have made the outlook for a solution of the labor problem seem gloomy indeed. Fortunately the organization has never been large; but its leaders are bold, and heedless of the rights of others. In recent years many of them who were not citizens have been sent back by the United States government to the European countries from which they came.

The Workingman and Political Parties. Samuel Gompers and

[1] Sabotage is from the French word sabots, which means wooden shoes. It is said to have come into use when some French laborers ruined a machine by throwing their wooden shoes into it.

other leaders of the American Federation of Labor have always advised the laboring men against the formation of a separate political party such as exists in many other countries. Certain small groups, however, have at times put forth candidates on a " labor " ticket. In 1892 the Socialist-Labor party was formed; and a few years later Eugene Debs, a radical labor leader who had led the Pullman strike, organized the Social Democratic or Socialist party. Debs has been the party's candidate for president at every election, except one, since 1900. His greatest strength was in 1912, when he received over 900,000 votes. According to the Socialist teaching the cure for the ills of industrial warfare is government ownership of all the means of production, and the division of the returns of labor according to each man's need.



CHILDREN AT WORK IN THE COTTON MILLS

Children under ten years of age were sometimes found employed in the cotton mills. It requires very little strength or skill to tend the marvelous machinery that has been invented to aid in the manufacture of many cotton products, and selfish employers took the cheapest labor they could find. Children so employed were stunted in mind and body, and consequently represented a terrible loss to the nation.

Improvements in Labor Conditions. The condition of the working man has improved materially in the past fifty years. Men once worked fourteen and sixteen hours a day in factories; now the average working day is nine, and in many industries eight; and wages are higher. Factories are better built, better lighted, and more fully protected from fire. State and national laws have compelled the use of safety devices to protect employees from accidents. In many states workmen's compensation laws have been passed, under which the laborer receives money in payment of damages if he suffers serious injury from accident

while at his work. If he dies as a result of such an accident, the money goes to his family.

Women and Children in Industry. Women and children have received special consideration. As early as 1847 New Hampshire had a law to protect children from some of the evils of factory labor. Twenty years later Massachusetts passed a law limiting the number of hours of labor, and the age at which children might go to work in a factory. Most of the states adopted similar laws, except in the South, where the owners of cotton mills insisted that they would be forced to close their factories unless they could employ children. In time the federal government attempted nationwide protection of children in factories. Congress in 1916 passed a law forbidding the shipment from one state to another of the products of any factory where children under fourteen years of age were employed. This law the Supreme Court decided was unconstitutional. Three years later, Congress passed another law levying a special tax on all concerns which employed children, but it, too, has been declared unconstitutional.[1] The states have led the way in their care of women in industry also. Some of them have laws establishing an eight hour day for women in factories and stores. There has been a growing sentiment that wages should be high enough to provide decent living conditions. A few of the states have responded by establishing a minimum wage for women.

The Growth of Cities. The tremendous growth of industry has also resulted in a rapid increase in the number and size of our cities. In 1870 only one fifth of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8000 or more inhabitants; today nearly one half of all our people are in such cities. New York City has a population of over 5,000,000 and there are about twenty-five places with a population of 250,000, or more. This gathering together in large cities has resulted in special problems of health and crime. In great centers like New York and Chicago, as many as a thousand people may live in a single block. Such crowding

[1] There is a well-defined movement in favor of adding an amendment to our Constitution which will make child labor impossible in any state in the Union.

together makes it difficult for human beings to keep clean and well. The slums of our large cities have become breeding places for crime. Organized gangs of criminals make their headquarters in the dingy narrow streets and within the tenement houses that line them. Unfortunately, our city governments are at times under the control of dishonest men, and this makes it easier for these criminals to escape from justice.

Street Scene in New York

The dense population of New York City and the enormous value of land has made it profitable to construct very high buildings both for stores and dwelling houses. There are few yards, and consequently the streets are almost the only playgrounds the children have.

The Tendency to Leave the Farms. The population of the cities of the United States is growing nearly four times as fast as that of the country districts. In fact, the number of farmers and farm laborers in many of the states is actually smaller than it was twenty years ago.[1] When farmers saw their children and their neighbors going away to the cities where factory jobs meant fewer hours of work and more ready money to spend, they began to feel that their own work was hard and unprofitable. Dissatisfaction spread through the country districts.

Between 1890 and 1900 the prices of farm products dropped to the lowest ever known. Wheat sold as low as fifty cents a bushel and cotton was six cents a pound. At the same time, the prices of the things the farmer had to buy remained comparatively high; and interest rates on the money he had borrowed did not decrease at all. It took twice as much

[1] This is true in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri, as well as in nearly all of the New England states.

wheat to pay the interest on the farm mortgage in 1895 as had been required ten years earlier. Taxes were also high; and after paying his taxes, the interest on his debts, and the freight on his crops to an eastern market, the farmer frequently had little or nothing left to pay for his labor.

Farmers' Attempts at United Action. It is small wonder that hundreds of thousands of farmers became dissatisfied and ready to join in any movement which promised a larger measure of prosperity. Such an idea had its birth in Kansas under the name of the Farmer's Alliance. Other similar movements began elsewhere in the West and South. In 1892 they all united into the People's Party, or Populists, and nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for president, for whom they cast more than a million votes. At the time it seemed likely that this "third party" might become an important factor in national politics. In 1896, however, the Populists joined with the Democrats in supporting William Jennings Bryan for president, and the People's Party soon ceased to be important.

The feeling of discontent among the farmers was not dead, however. They still felt that they were being robbed by the money lenders of Wall Street,[1] and by those who purchased their products and transported them to market. Many local associations were organized which helped to get higher prices for farm products, and lower prices on farm machinery, fertilizers, and other supplies. Most of these were not political organizations; but in North Dakota, the Non-partizan League became powerful enough to elect all the state officers and undertake an extensive program which was intended to benefit the farmers.

Demand for Betterment of Conditions Through Governmental Action. The development of farmers' organizations and of labor unions has had a very important influence on the work of the national government. Many of the manufacturers and bankers, and other people as well, believed in the old theory that the less

[1] Wall Street is a very narrow street in New York City where many of the greatest bankers and brokers of the country have their offices. The name is often used in referring to the money power of the country.

the government interfered with business the better for everybody. But the People's Party boldly set forth a platform demanding that the government use its great powers to promote the welfare of the people. It demanded laws for regulation of railroad rates, income taxes, rural free delivery of mail, and popular election of senators. These demands seemed visionary indeed at the time, but today they are accomplished facts.

The Government and the Trusts. More important than these, however, was the insistence of the people that the government should exercise a control over the great corporations or trusts. The early trusts were very unpopular. The Standard Oil Company was accused of using many unfair methods. No sooner was the Sugar Trust organized than the price of sugar went up. The Borax Trust sold borax from its California plant to the people of London, England, for less than half the price asked in New York. The Democrats voiced the people's opposition to these great corporations and declared that it was the tariff which made the trusts possible. The president of the Sugar Trust publicly admitted, "The mother of all the trusts is the customs tariff law." The Republicans did not accept this theory, but declared that trusts existed also in free trade England, that they were able to produce goods more cheaply, and could therefore sell goods at lower prices, even though they were making large profits.

The demand for regulation of the trusts became so insistent that Congress in 1890 passed the Sherman Anti-Trust law. This act declared that combinations in restraint of trade were illegal, and provided for punishment by fine or imprisonment. But the law was not of much use, because its provisions were somewhat indefinite and it was almost impossible to convict anybody under it. The Interstate Commerce law of 1887, intended to control railroad rates, had also proved unsatisfactory. Government regulation seemed to be a broken reed, and men were wondering what could be done to bring the great corporations under control. So matters stood when Theodore Roosevelt became President in 1901. He argued that the government should have the right to inspect the workings of the great trusts

and see whether they were doing business fairly or not, and that railroad rates should be just, and the same for all shippers. This appealed to the people, and Congress passed several new laws on the subject, under which a number of trusts were prosecuted in the courts.

The Hepburn Act. In 1906 came the Hepburn Act, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to hear complaints regarding unreasonable railroad rates, and to decide what rates might be charged. Under this law, as later amended, it has become possible to regulate railroad rates and secure fair treatment for all shippers.

Clayton Anti-trust Act. In 1914, two new anti-trust laws were passed by Congress. The first established a Federal Trade Commission with power to oversee the activities of corporations and order unfair trade methods stopped. The Clayton Anti-Trust Act of the same year defined and prohibited many of the practices which were common among business men, but which the people had come to believe were against their best interests.[1] This act also made clear that labor unions and farmers' organizations were not subject to the anti-trust laws.

Problems of the Present Period Still Unsolved. The problems of the industrial era are by no means solved. The conflicting interests of the capitalist, the laborer, and the farmer are not easy to harmonize. It is the duty of the government " to promote the general welfare," and to act always on the principle laid down by Solon, the wise lawgiver of ancient Athens: " That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all."

[1] For instance, the charging of different prices for the same article, a lower price where there was competition, and a higher price elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SHUTTLE

I. How the Bond of Common Interest Has Been Woven

II. The Coming of the Early Americans

A. Those who came
1. English.
2. Dutch.
3. Scotch-Irish.
4. Germans.
5. French.

B. Americans of the Revolutionary period

C. Effect of the Revolution on the bond of common interest

III. Immigration Since the Revolution. *Thompson, pp. 300–301, 368–371*

A. First period — before the Civil War *Poems, p. 659*
1. The Irish. (*a*) Famine in Ireland.
2. The Germans of the earlier migration. (*a*) Revolution of 1848. (*b*) Where they settled. (*c*) Character.

B. Recent period — since the Civil War
1. The Germans of the later migration. (*a*) Making the German Empire. (*b*) Changed character of German immigration.
2. Decline in immigration from France and England. (*a*) Causes.
3. Other countries of northern Europe.
4. Southeastern Europe. (*a*) Causes of great increase. (*b*) Character of immigrants. (*c*) Their ignorance. (*d*) Crowding in cities. (*e*) The public school and the problem.

C. Laws to exclude foreigners
1. Effect on Jews.

D. Naturalization

IV. Strength of the Bond of Interest *Fite, pp. 503–505*

A. Immigrants from every country
1. Those who have returned.

B. Foreign commerce

C. Education and travel

D. America and world problems

PROBLEM

TOPIC

III. Suggest the reasons which may have led President Wilson to veto the bill of 1917 requiring immigrants to be able to read and write in some language.

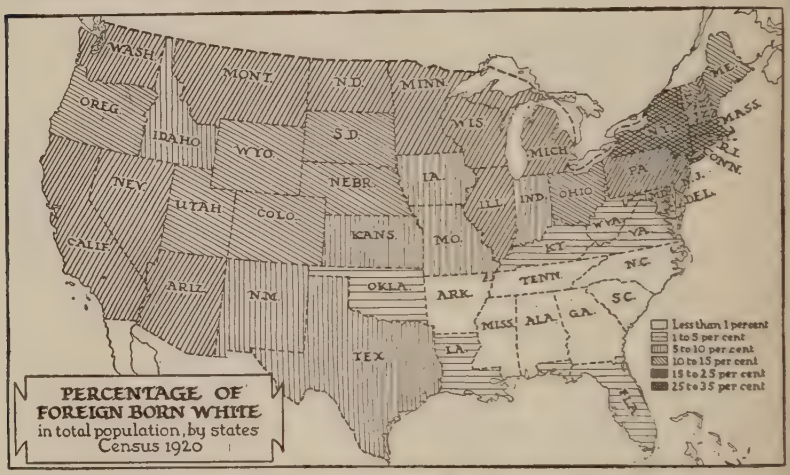
Exercise: Count the number of pupils in the class all of whose grandparents were born in America, also the pupils only one of whose grandparents was born here. See what percentage of the class falls in each group.

The Connection Between Europe and America. In the early days of weaving when the shuttle which carried the woof must be threaded through the warp by hand, the process of cloth making was slow and laborious. With the invention of the flying shuttle and the development of modern machinery, that shuttle now moves back and forth with such speed that it is almost impossible for the eye to see its movements; but the cloth is woven.

Something of the same sort has happened in the history of America. The first ships which sailed from Europe to the newly found continent across the seas, carrying a tiny thread of common interest between Europe and America, spent weeks and even months upon the voyage. Other ships followed, bearing their precious burdens of men, women, and children. The thread grew into a cord, and the cord into a cable, as the ties of common interest increased year by year. Today, when thousands of great vessels ply back and forth with their cargoes of merchandise and human beings, when the transatlantic cable carries the news of what all the world is doing and thinking, when airplanes have crossed the Atlantic in a single day, the cords which bind Europe and America together have become so many and so strong that they can never be broken. The shuttle which carries commerce and knowledge and people themselves now travels so many various ways and with such speed that we can hardly follow its movements; but we do see the results.

Human Connecting Links. The English came first to Jamestown and to Plymouth; and Virginia and New England were almost wholly settled by them. They came for various reasons: some to escape from religious persecution; some to seek political

liberty; many because living conditions were hard in the old country and they hoped to find them easier in the new; and a few poor unfortunate debtors and criminals who were sent across the seas to get them out of the way. Settlers came from other countries also. The Dutch on the Hudson, and the Swedes on the Delaware, made efforts to found colonies. When the English trade laws made linen weaving unprofitable in the north of Ireland, thousands of Scotch-Irish sought homes in the New



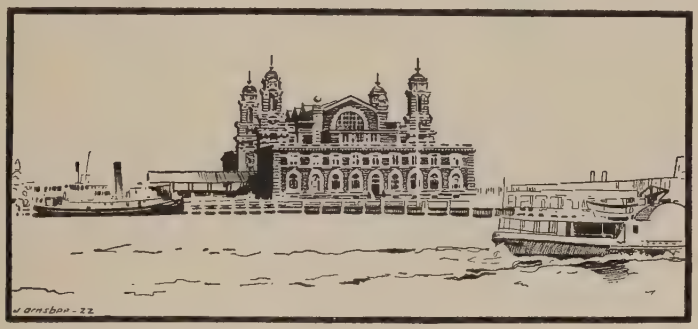
Few emigrants have gone into the South, where the negroes furnish cheap labor. Most of the newcomers find work in the big industrial centers, or seek homes in the newer states of the West.

World. Other settlers came from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Religious persecutions drove thousands of Germans from their native land to the hills of Pennsylvania, and when religious wars ruined their homes along the Rhine, other thousands came also. The French king drove the Protestants out of France, and they found a refuge in the English colonies. The Census Bureau has estimated, however, that more than nine-tenths of the Americans at the time of the Revolutionary War were of British origin.

The Revolution Made and Broke Ties. The Declaration of Independence cut the political cord which bound the colonies to

Great Britain, but ties of memory and race, of language and customs, and of commerce still held. French help in the Revolutionary War and American sympathy with the French Revolution wove a strong cord of common interest between the United States and France. So while the bond had been weakened in one place, it had been strengthened in another.

Early Immigration. During the first half century of our independence, comparatively few immigrants came to America. But after 1830, when the new American sailing vessels had shortened the voyage to from four to six weeks, immigration increased.



ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK

Ellis Island is the most important immigrant entrance station in the United States. Through its portals millions of Old World people have made their way into the New World.

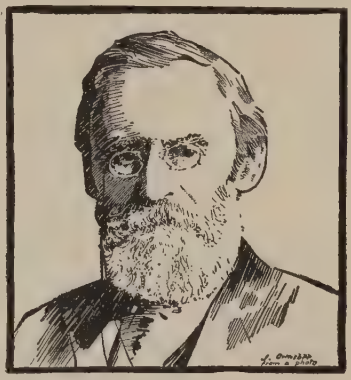
Irish Immigration. The first to come in throngs were the Irish. They had reason enough for wishing to leave the "old sod." English rule was hated, religious persecution was common, and grinding poverty was almost universal. Those who came first sent back reports of getting meat every day, and white bread and warm clothing in America. Said one, "There is a great many ill conveniences here, but no empty stomachs." The terrible famine which followed the failure of the potato crop of Ireland in 1845, and the two succeeding years, made a new land of such abundance appear wonderfully attractive. Every ship which sailed westward was crowded to the limit with half-starved Irish peasants. They found no hands extended to give them

welcome, but still they came. Few of them pushed on to the farms; nearly all of them stayed in the cities where they found jobs as unskilled laborers. The Irish immigration continued until half the population of the island found its way across the Atlantic. Here in time their genius for organization made them leaders in labor movements, and their love for politics won for them the control of the government in many of our cities. Although in recent years the people of Ireland have become more prosperous than ever before in their history, they have never been able to forget their old time hatred for England, and thousands of Irish still come to America every year. With five million Irish in this country, the cord which binds the United States and Ireland has become a powerful bond.

German Immigration. Scarcely had the high tide of Irish immigration passed, when a great host of Germans began to move westward across the Atlantic. For centuries Germany had been made up of a great number of small states, each with its own ruler and system of laws. Nearly all these states were monarchies, and the rights of the people were few indeed. For years the Germans had dreamed of uniting these governments, and winning a greater degree of liberty; and in 1848 they undertook to make their dream come true. But their revolution was a failure; and more than a million Germans decided to seek the freedom they hoped for, in the land of the Stars and Stripes. In some cases, entire villages sold their property and undertook the journey across the sea. These German immigrants were not content to stay in the eastern cities, but pushed westward to the fertile fields of the middle west where many of them became prosperous farmers. Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, around which many of them settled, became important German centers. These Germans were proud to become American citizens, and many of their leaders took a prominent part in American life. In the Civil War both the Irish and the Germans were loyal supporters of the Union cause and helped to turn the tide of battle against the South.

The people of Germany had failed in their effort to secure a united nation in 1848, and it did not seem probable that unity

could ever be secured peacefully. In 1861, William I became king of Prussia, one of the largest of the German states. He selected Bismarck as his prime minister. Together they planned to unite Germany by a policy of "blood and iron." They picked a quarrel with Austria in 1866 and defeated her in a short war. Several German states which had sided with Austria were now annexed by Prussia, and others were persuaded to unite in a federation. The states of south Germany, however, refused to join. Bismarck succeeded in tricking them into believing that France was planning to seize some of their territory and they joined Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.[1] France was soon defeated; and in the enthusiasm of a common victory, all the German states (except Austria) united, and William was crowned German Emperor in the old French palace at Versailles. The new German Empire was the child of war, and her ideals were founded on the principle of force.



CARL SCHURZ, 1829–1906

Carl Schurz was one of the German immigrants who were forced to leave their native land because of their activity in the revolution of 1848. He settled in the northern part of the United States, and when the Civil War came on gave splendid service in the Union army. After the war he became one of the political leaders of his day. He held several important offices, among them that of Senator from Missouri, and Secretary of the Interior under Hayes. As a statesman and writer Carl Schurz ranks as one of the most distinguished sons of his adopted country.

The new Germany became a great industrial nation, and she soon ranked among the leading powers of the world. Due principally to large families, her population increased rapidly. Every German boy was required to serve in the national army. The desire to escape this military service, and the hope of getting

[1] Napoleon III, who was then Emperor of France, was not liked by the French people, and he welcomed this war as a means of winning popularity.

better wages, led many thousand citizens of the German Empire to make the journey to America. More than three million came in the forty years between 1870 and 1910.

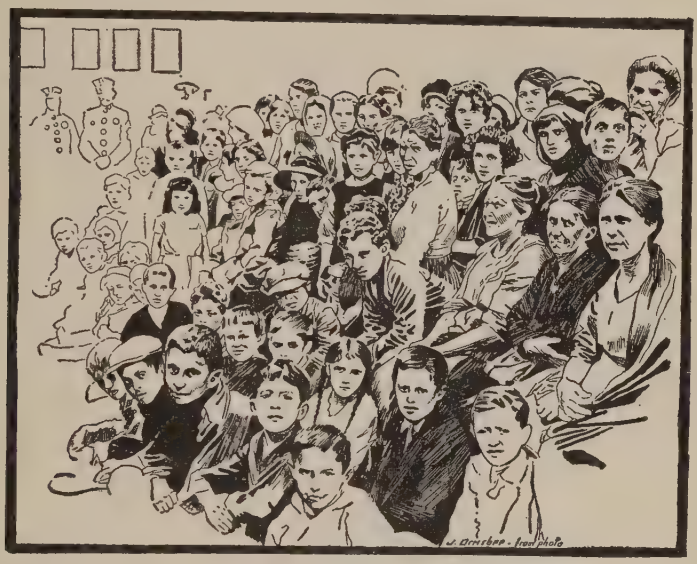
French and British Immigration. The immigration from France[1] was never large, and from both France and England the number of immigrants in recent years has been growing smaller. There is no longer any reason to leave either country because of religious or political persecution. After her crushing defeat by Prussia in 1870, France established a Republic, and the people have secured a high degree of liberty. Great Britain also has changed her government, little by little, until now she has the most democratic government of any country in Europe; and some people insist that it is fully as democratic as that of the United States. While the British still have a king, he is king only in name, and has little part in the actual government of the country. Another reason for the decrease in British immigration to the United States is that an increasing number of British subjects are going to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Immigrants from North-western Europe. People from many other European countries have come to America. Throughout the northwestern part of our country can be found great settlements of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, as well as smaller numbers of other peoples. They came, as a rule, because the new land across the sea seemed to be a land of plenty, and because of the overcrowded conditions in their homelands. Most of them have made excellent American citizens.

Immigration of Later Days. During the last forty years, a great change has taken place in the character of immigration. Before 1880, most of those who crossed the sea came because of their great hope that America could satisfy their desire for a better home and for greater freedom. Some of the more recent immigrants have come for the same reason; but many more of them from another motive. The age of big business has brought many changes to our country, but none more important than the

[1] Many French Canadians have crossed the border into New York and New England, where they form an important part of the population.

change it has caused in immigration. The demand for laborers in the new industries, and the growing tendency of American workmen to form unions and demand higher wages and better working conditions, led the managers of big business to seek another supply of labor. Among the more ignorant classes of southern and eastern Europe, they found those who were attracted

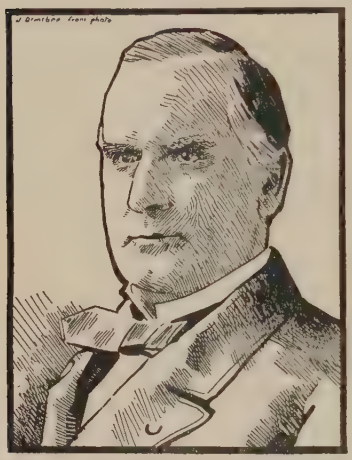


IMMIGRANTS AT ELLIS ISLAND

Incoming immigrants are held at the entrance ports of our country until they can be examined by officials. No immigrant is admitted unless he possesses the requirements established by the nation's laws.

by the prospect of a job at a rate of pay far higher than was possible in the home country. Italians, Greeks, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Syrians, and people of many other races began to come in great hordes. For the most part they settled in the industrial centers. They were ignorant of English, many of them unable to read or write in any language; and came chiefly from countries where the governments were

despotic and arbitrary.[1] Their experiences in America were almost wholly with the boss in the plant, and with the policeman, neither of whom they really understood. It was among such people that the Industrial Workers of the World found their strength. When immigrants of this kind began to come at the rate of a million a year,[2] the problem of how to make American citizens out of such material became a serious one.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY, 1842–1901

Major in the Civil War, leading advocate of protective tariff, twice governor of Ohio, highly esteemed President of the United States during the war with Spain.

The Problem of Americanization. The fact that most of these newcomers congregated in the large cities added to the difficulty. For example, there are more than half as many Italians in New York City as in Naples, more Irish than in Dublin, more Jews than ever lived in Jerusalem at one time. All our large cities have an Italian quarter, or a Bohemian quarter, or a Polish quarter, or some other foreign quarter, where one may travel for blocks and hear not a word of English spoken. Various well-meant efforts to Americanize the immigrants have been started; but the public school is almost the only agency which is making any real progress toward accomplishing this end. If the United

[1] Italy in particular should be excepted from this statement. After the Italian states won their independence from Austria about 1860, they formed the modern kingdom of Italy. The citizens have a large share in the government. Taxes are very high, however, and the people, especially those of southern Italy, are very poor and ignorant.

[2] The number of immigrants in the ten years from 1904 to 1914 was ten million. The following states had more than half a million of foreign born in 1920:

New York	2,783,733	New Jersey	738,761
Pennsylvania	1,387,289	Michigan	726,214
Illinois	1,204,403	California	681,654
Massachusetts	1,077,072	Ohio	678,647

States is to remain a nation which can continue to uphold the ideals of its founders, it will be due to the painstaking efforts of the teachers in the public schools.

Laws Restricting Immigration. When Theodore Roosevelt became President, he called attention to the serious problems caused by the rapid increase in immigration of people who did not seem likely to make good citizens. Congress made a study of the situation and passed laws to keep out some of the least desirable foreigners. Some believed that a law excluding those who could not read or write was desirable. Such a law was finally passed in 1917 over President Wilson's veto.[1] The law has been particularly hard on the Jews of Eastern Europe, very few of whom have ever had an opportunity to go to school. In Russia, Poland, and Rumania, the Jews have often been cruelly persecuted on account of their religion. Many of them had been escaping to America, where their quick-witted children often became leaders in school work. To these people the law of 1917 seemed to close the door of hope. In 1920 another law was passed limiting the number of immigrants from any country to three percent of the number from that country in the United States in 1910. This law limits the number who come without improving the quality.

This chart shows the percent of foreign born in the United States that came from each of the principal countries of the world, according to the census of 1920.

Citizenship by Naturalization. Foreigners may become citizens of this country by the process of naturalization. For many years other nations did not admit that their subjects could become American citizens, but after a time treaties were made with all of

[1] Similar laws had been vetoed by Cleveland in 1897 and by Taft in 1912.

the principal countries under which a person who becomes naturalized and remains here for five years is regarded as a full citizen of the United States. Many abuses have crept into the process of naturalization, especially in the cities, where political bosses seem eager to get the votes of the foreigners. Recent laws have undertaken to safeguard the precious right of American citizenship, and to deny it to those who do not deserve the honor.

Bonds that Bind. The shuttle which has been weaving the cords that bind Europe and America together has been busy these many years, until today there is not a country in Europe and scarcely a village which has not seen some of its people set out on the journey across the seas. In recent years it has been found that many of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe do not remain in America. Perhaps half of the men, after saving a sum of money from their wages, go back to their native villages. They remember many of the things they learned in America, and so help to strengthen the cords that bind us together.

Foreign commerce has also become an important bond of union. Americans have learned that they must buy abroad many of the things they desire; and a great deal of our prosperity is dependent on our ability to sell our surplus in other lands.

Education and travel have likewise increased the ties which unite the world. Thousands of Americans have gone to Europe to finish their education. They have made friends in many places, and the ties of friendship have grown with acquaintance.

Close Relationship of All Nations. The earth is too small a place for any nation to try to live by itself. It could not if it wished; and every civilized nation desires to have its share in helping to carry the burdens and solve the problems of the world. The shuttle has carried so many threads of common interest across the Atlantic that America has become vitally concerned in the welfare of all the nations, and has found that she has a duty to perform and a part to play on the world stage.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

I. Beginnings of the Monroe Doctrine — *Thompson, pp. 476–477*

A. Washington's Neutrality Proclamation

B. Washington's Farewell Address

C. Monroe's Message

II. Adding the Idea of Resistance Because of Interference with Existing Government — *Fite, pp. 375, 422*

A. The French and the Mexican Monarchy

1. Reason for invasion.
2. Establishment of the monarchy.
3. Attitude of the United States. (*a*) During Civil War. (*b*) After the war.
4. French withdrawal. (*a*) Effect on Monroe Doctrine.

III. Adding the Idea of Resistance for the Purpose of Protecting American Claims — *Fite, pp. 469–470*

A. The Venezuelan boundary dispute

1. The circumstances.
2. British refusal to arbitrate.
3. What President Cleveland demanded.
4. The outcome.
5. Effect on Monroe Doctrine.

IV. Adding the Idea of Resistance for the Sake of the Rights of Humanity — The Spanish-American War — *Poems, p. 608, 624, 626, 627; Southworth II, pp. 256–259*

A. Causes

1. Importance of geographical location.
2. Sufferings of the Cubans.
3. Sympathy with the object of the struggle.
4. American business interests.
5. The destruction of the Maine.

B. The declaration of war

1. The President's demands.
2. The nation's promise with regard to the future of Cuba.
3. Plan. (*a*) To invade Cuba. (*b*) To destroy the Spanish fleets. (*c*) To capture Spanish colonies.

C. Working the plan
   1. Dewey at Manila.
   2. Cooperation of Sampson's Fleet and Shafter's forces at Santiago.
   3. Invasion of Porto Rico.
   4. Merritt in the Philippines.

D. The treaty of peace

E. After the war in Cuba
   1. Reorganization.
   2. The Platt Amendment.
   3. Intervention.
   4. The Cuban attitude toward the United States.

V. International Recognition of the Monroe Doctrine

A. The peaceful blockade proposal

B. The German request

C. President Roosevelt's position

D. The settlement of the affair

VI. Added Responsibilities of the United States Because of the Monroe Doctrine

A. President Roosevelt's statement of the problem *Fite, pp. 493–498*

B. Santo Domingo and her debts

C. Haiti

D. Nicaragua

E. When the responsibility presses hardest

Problems

TOPIC

II. What was the reason for the objection of the United States to the Mexican monarchy?

III. Compare Great Britain's treatment of Venezuela over their boundary dispute with the United States' treatment of Mexico in the dispute over the Texan boundary.

IV. 1. Had Cuba been located off the coast of Africa, would there have been a Spanish-American War?
2. Was the purchase of the Philippines a violation of the Monroe Doctrine?

VI. Can you find any differences in the American doctrine as understood in 1793, 1796, 1823, 1865, 1893, 1898, and 1904?

Special Topics: Lives of Grover Cleveland, and Theodore Roosevelt (see pages 576–579)

The Early Belief in American Isolation. "America is for Americans" is a popular way of stating our nation's attitude

when any question of our foreign relations presents itself. Washington first expressed the idea in his Neutrality Proclamation (see page 230), and again presented it in his Farewell Address (see page 234), meaning in both instances that America had no part in the quarrels of Europe. Monroe, in his famous message of 1823 (see page 266), gave the idea a formal announcement, stressing also the connected thought that Europe had no part in the problems of America, and in time this became the American Doctrine. Since then the meaning of the statement has grown by interpretation; only the object has remained unchanged. That is, that the United States means under every circumstance to secure for her own people the highest possible opportunity. It is to the credit of this government that she has not found her highest opportunity to be always a selfish one.

French Interference in Mexico a Challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. The first addition that was read into the Monroe Doctrine came at the close of the Civil War. During that struggle, the French had been one of three nations to send an army into Mexico for the purpose of collecting debts due them. After an agreement was reached with regard to the payment of the debts, the French army did not withdraw as did the others, and in spite of polite protests from our government, assisted in overthrowing the Mexican republic and in establishing a monarchy in its stead, with an Austrian prince as emperor. To support this monarchy the French troops agreed to remain in Mexico for five years. The Monroe Doctrine did not say in so many words that the United States would *resist* any "interference with the established governments of the Americas;" but when the Civil War ended, the President ordered General Sheridan and an army of 52,000 veterans to the Mexican border. Then a very sharp note was sent to France demanding that the French troops leave American soil. There was no question but that a refusal meant war. The French army was withdrawn, the monarchy collapsed, and the Mexican republic was restored. It was evident to the watching nations that the Monroe Doctrine had claws.

The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute. In Cleveland's administration another addition to the Doctrine was made by interpre-

tation. The boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana had long been the subject of a dispute, which was made more bitter by the discovery of gold in the region in question. Venezuela was so much weaker than her powerful opponent that her one hope lay in arbitration. England refused again and again to arbitrate, and announced that she would not consider Venezuela's claim. The South American state appealed to her "big sister," and President Cleveland, who loved fair play, demanded by the right given him under the Monroe Doctrine that the matter be submitted to arbitration. The British minister replied that the Monroe Doctrine was not effective, and that the United States had no more right of intervention in Venezuelan affairs than any other nation. An acceptance of that reply would have meant the surrender of our country's right to protect her weaker American neighbors. Cleveland had no intention of making such a mistake. At his request, Congress sanctioned the appointing of an American Commission to investigate the boundary claim, and it was made very clear that the United States intended to support the report of that body, to any extent necessary. When the matter was made public, it was found that the British people favored the arbitration which their government had denied. The British foreign minister said that his country was perfectly willing to settle the matter by agreement with Venezuela, and it was then done very peaceably.[1] Strangely enough, the result of the strained relations between the United States and Great Britain was a greater degree of friendliness. Other nations also took note of the fact that the American Monroe Doctrine meant that the United States stood ready to resist with force, if necessary, any attempts to infringe on the government or *territory* of an American state.

Irritating Conditions in Cuba. Conditions in Cuba had been for many years a source of irritation to the people of the United States. Its geographical position made it a matter of special interest, for it was at the doorstep of the American continent. In other days the nation had been anxious to acquire it, and

[1] By the Commission's award, Great Britain got the larger part of the territory under dispute.

before the Civil War there had been very definite efforts in that direction (see page 323).

Spanish colonial misrule had driven the natives of the island into revolt after revolt. These the Spanish had put down with great cruelty, but they were never able to stamp out entirely the Cuban longing for freedom. The geography of the island was such that the insurgents, even though beaten, could retire into the impassable mountain region of the middle district, and keep up a series of plundering raids on the Spanish officers and sympathizers in the coast towns. General Weyler, whom American newspapers called "The Butcher," attempted to break up this irregular warfare by establishing a series of insanitary reconcentration camps for the natives, into which non-combatants were herded like cattle, and where, underfed and without medical care, they died by the thousands. The food supplies of the surrounding country were then destroyed in the hope of starving out the fighting forces. The people of America felt a deep sympathy for the Cubans who were struggling for liberty against such odds. Unofficial help was given whenever possible, but the government attempted to maintain its declared neutrality. It did send to the Spanish a formal protest against the barbarous conditions in the island, but the Spanish promises to better conditions were not kept.

American Self-interest in the Island. Added to the natural sympathy for the suffering of these neighbors of ours, in their struggle for independence, the money interests in America were giving their attention to the situation. American capital was invested in Cuban sugar and tobacco, and the continued warfare there worked serious harm to all business enterprises. American citizens, some of them of Cuban birth, were continually demanding protection in the island, and the need for settling the unrest became imperative.

The Destruction of the Maine. The Spaniards in Cuba grew to hate the Americans because of their sympathy for the Cuban cause. American interests in the island were in such danger that President McKinley thought it wise to send a battleship to Havana on a *friendly visit.* The *Maine* was assigned to this duty, and shortly after her arrival in the harbor, a midnight explosion

occurred which sank the vessel. Of the men on board, 260 were killed and 60 severely wounded. The news sent a wave of indignation over the country. Spain was blamed for the outrage, and the desire to help Cuba win her freedom was strengthened by a longing to avenge the sailor dead. Everywhere popular feeling expressed itself in the cry, "Remember the *Maine*."

A Declaration of War by Resolutions. Careful investigation since has revealed the fact that the *Maine* was destroyed by an internal and an external explosion, and there is no evidence to prove which came first. Sober second thought has convinced thinking people that neither could have been the work of the Spanish government. Angry and hotheaded Spanish officials may have planned the deed, or it may have been the result of an accident. It has been suggested that the Cubans themselves, anxious to strengthen American opposition to Spain, may have been responsible. At that time the Americans did not reason. They simply demanded war. Congress responded by passing four resolutions that were really a declaration of war "by virtue of the responsible position of the United States in this continent," and in the "name of humanity." One demanded that Spain recognize Cuba's independence; a second demanded that Spanish troops be withdrawn from the island; another authorized the President to use force to carry out these demands; and the last was a formal announcement that the United States would not annex Cuba, and that the island "is, and of a right ought to be, a free and independent state."

THE *MAINE* ENTERING HAVANA HARBOR

When a few days later the formal declaration of a state of war between the United States and Spain was adopted, it was dated back to the passing of the four resolutions, April 19, the anniversary of the first battle of our own struggle for independence.

The Plan for Conducting the War. Since the whole object of the war was the driving of the Spanish out of Cuba, it was ex-

pected that most of the fighting would occur on that island. But Spain was vulnerable in two other points, her far scattered colonial possessions, and the fleets she kept to guard them. The Americans planned to carry out a threefold attack.

At the outbreak of the War with Spain, Dewey sailed from Hongkong to the Philippines and destroyed or captured the entire Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

Dewey at Manila. Commodore George Dewey, then in the harbor of Hongkong, China, was ordered to find and destroy the Spanish fleet in the Pacific, while Sampson and Schley, in command of the Atlantic squadron, were ordered to destroy the Spanish fleet in that ocean. A comparison of the American and

Spanish naval strength, on paper, made them about equal. Records of markmanship and seamanship, that were to tell a different story, were not available at that time.

GEORGE DEWEY,
1837–1917

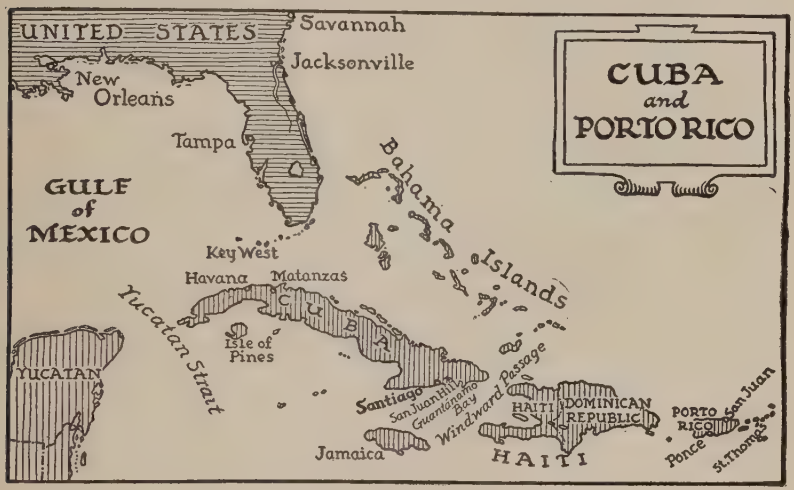
George Dewey of Vermont, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, had seen three years of naval service when the Civil War began. He was assigned to Farragut's famous squadron, which gained possession of New Orleans, and afterwards served on blockade duty. Peace brought its own responsibilities to the navy, and Dewey climbed steadily upward in his country's service. As commander of the Asiatic squadron in the Spanish-American War, his great opportunity came at the battle of Manila Bay, where he won one of the greatest naval victories in the history of our nation.

Dewey found his opponent in the harbor of Manila, the port of the largest of the Spanish-owned Philippines. In a remarkable battle on May day of 1898, he destroyed the Spanish fleet without the loss of a single American life.

The Victory at Santiago. A wave of enthusiasm swept over the country, intensified soon by the news that the Spanish fleet in the Atlantic had been discovered in the bottle-shaped harbor at Santiago, Cuba. The American vessels spread themselves in a great receiving line to wait until the Spaniards should venture out.

A land attack was planned to take Santiago from the other side of the island, for this would deprive the Spanish vessels of the protection of the harbor guns. Before this could be acted upon, the newspapers printed "exact information" that Spain was sending a third fleet to attack the American coast. Eastern cities shivered in fear of showers of Spanish bombs, and demanded

that the American vessels at Santiago be sent to guard them. It was therefore decided that a cork should be placed in the bottle-shaped harbor, and men were asked to volunteer to sink an old coaling vessel in the harbor mouth. Every man in the fleet offered his services, and the seven who were finally selected were the most envied men in the squadron. The attempt was not wholly successful, for the vessel was disabled by a Spanish shell and did not sink at the right spot. The men were taken prison-



American troops were landed in Cuba and in Porto Rico, and did some fighting in both islands. At Santiago, a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera was totally destroyed.

ers by the Spanish, treated courteously, and soon exchanged for Spanish prisoners.

The Army and the War. President Roosevelt said in later years that the two remarkable things about the Spanish-American war were the preparedness of the navy and the unpreparedness of the army. At the beginning of the war, it was decided to expand the small standing army by establishing volunteer regiments. The young men of America flocked to the enlistment stations and the states found little difficulty in filling their quotas. But there were very few skilled officers, and no provisions for training

others. Nor were the sanitary or commissary departments of the army well administered. Soldiers died by the thousands from yellow fever and kindred disease. A fearful amount of suffering was brought about by sending the men to the far south without any attempt to accustom them to the climate. No allowance was made in the army ration for climatic differences and the demands of actual service. Commissary officers continued to serve the bully beef and hard tack that had always been used. They carelessly permitted the purchase of unfit food, and the discontent, discomfort, and positive suffering and death that resulted are blots on the reputations of those responsible for the conduct of the war.

Nevertheless, the army when it got into action, gave a very good account of itself. The first point of attack was Santiago, which the officials felt must be taken in order to drive the Spanish fleet from their secure haven in the harbor. By the first of July the attack on the land side had been so successful that the Spanish commander decided the fleet must try to escape. Accordingly, on the morning of the third of July the Spanish fleet steamed out of the harbor and attempted a dash for the open sea. The Spanish sailors soon found themselves hopelessly outclassed in gunnery and sailorcraft, and Admiral Sampson was able to announce to the American people, as a Fourth of July present, the total destruction of the Spanish fleet. The American loss was very slight.

Capture of Porto Rico. General Miles was in command of an army sent to capture Porto Rico, another of Spain's colonies in the Caribbean. The native population received the Americans with joy, and although the Spanish army of occupation was much larger than that of General Miles, he was making a rapid and successful advance through the island when orders came from Washington commanding him to stop. Spain had indicated that she was willing to discuss peace.

The Winning of the Philippines. Meanwhile a force under General Merritt had been sent to cooperate with Admiral Dewey in the Philippines.[1] The Manila harbor was under control, but

[1] Admiral Dewey's hardest problem was the presence of the foreign boats in the harbor. The German commander had a higher rank and a larger

the Spaniards still held the city. They were being besieged on the land side by a native army under a native leader, Emilio Aguinaldo. When the American force landed, the Filipinos evacuated their front trenches, and the Americans swept into them. The situation in the city was desperate, for the weak Spanish troops could not even maintain order. Their pride was such that they would not surrender without a struggle. An informal arrangement was made through the Belgian consul that the fleet should fire on the city, the soldiers should attack, and then the Spaniards after some slight resistance would surrender. And so it was done. That very day Spain yielded.[1] A protocol was signed which provided for the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Cuba, and recognized the authority of the United States in the other islands. In the final treaty of peace, Spain gave up all claim to Cuba. Porto Rico and Guam (an island in the Ladrones) were ceded to the United States, and the Philippines were sold to this nation for twenty million dollars.[2]

"This Isn't a Collar, It Is a Life Preserver"

The Treaty of Peace an Evidence of American Good Faith. The announcement that the United States would not annex Cuba had not been taken seriously by the other nations of the world;

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fleet than Dewey himself. There had been many evidences of German unfriendliness to American interests. It was feared that when an actual bombardment of the city began, some serious action might be taken. When the American war ships steamed into position to open the attack, they had to pass the English vessel *Immortalite*. Her guard paraded and her band played Admiral Dewey's favorite march. The English commander then moved his vessels into a position between our fleet and the German squadron.

[1] It was really the day before, August 12, but the time variation in the two parts of the globe accounts for the difference.

[2] This was supposed to be the value of the public improvements made by Spain in the islands.

but, two years later, the American flag was hauled down and a reconstructed Cuba was handed over to its own people. Then the world had convincing proof that the big sister of the Americas, not only would not permit the interference of foreign powers in the affairs of her smaller sisters, but that she would not take advantage of her position to infringe on those rights herself. The only hold she retained on the infant among republics is stated in what is known in this country as the Platt Amendment, and which is a part of the Cuban constitution. It provides that: 1. Cuba is never to enter into any compact with any foreign powers that will enable them to get any control over the island; 2. Cuba is never to assume any public debt which would be too great for the ordinary revenues of the island to repay; 3. Cuba consents that the United States may intervene in its affairs to preserve order and protect the government.

Cuban Relationship Since the War. Only once has military intervention been necessary. In 1906, as a result of election disorders, Secretary of War Taft was ordered by President Roosevelt [1] to establish a provisional government long enough to restore order. When this was accomplished, the United States forces again withdrew.

Times of trouble test friendship. When in 1917 the United States declared war against Germany, Cuba followed suit. It was her way of showing gratitude to the nation that had once come to her rescue because of the rights of humanity.

The United States a World Power. As a result of the Spanish-American war, the United States became one of the great world powers. Her new possessions made her a power in Asia, and her increased importance in trade could not but affect Europe. But more important than any other result was the evidence she had given of her attitude of protection to the smaller American states.

Influence of the United States in the Venezuelan Debt Controversy. A convincing proof of the acceptance of this new

[1] President McKinley was killed by an anarchist in September, 1901, and was succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt who had been elected as Vice-President in 1900. In 1904 Roosevelt defeated Alton B. Parker of New York for the presidency.

position came a few years later. The Venezuelan government had not been very successful in the handling of money. Heavy debts were owed to many European citizens, and in 1901, the governments of France, Great Britain, and Germany proposed to use force for the collection of the money owed their citizens. In 1861, in a similar situation, three European nations had sent armies into Mexico with no thought of consideration for the United States. Forty years later, the German government recognized the force of the Monroe Doctrine by informing President Roosevelt of the plan adopted for collecting the money, and added that the " German government has no purpose or intention to make the smallest acquisition of territory on the South American continent, or the islands adjacent."

Theodore Roosevelt, 1858–1919

President Roosevelt had publicly stated that the United States had never undertaken " to guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power." Consequently he did not object to the plan Germany suggested.

The three nations then proceeded to " a peaceful blockade of Venezuela," that is, a blockade without a formal declaration of war. In less than two months the American minister was able to bring about an agreement to arbitrate the matter, and it was peacefully settled.

The United States to Enforce Good Behavior in the Western Hemisphere. Still it left a feeling of unrest. It was not clear just when such " punishment for misconduct " should stop. In his message to Congress in 1904, President Roosevelt took an advanced position. After admitting that " chronic wrongdoing " would in the end require intervention, he added that, " in the

western hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing . . . to the exercise of an international police power." In other words, the United States would either have to allow the injured nations of Europe

PEASANT'S HOME IN SANTO DOMINGO

Santo Domingo occupies the eastern end of the island of Haiti. The Dominican Republic was organized in 1844, but it was never very successful as an independent power because of the poverty and ignorance of many of its inhabitants. They are of blended Spanish, Indian, and Negro blood, with a small proportion of white descendants of the early Spanish colonists. There are also a number of foreign merchants.

to punish wrongdoing that affected them, or accept the full responsibility of the Monroe Doctrine, and do the punishing herself.

Santo Domingo as an Example. The little island republic of Santo Domingo soon offered itself as an example. Its government had fallen into the hands of corrupt and wasteful adventurers who deliberately piled up debts that they had no intention of paying. European nations became justly indignant, and

the United States was forced to take a stand. The president of Santo Domingo was induced to appoint an officer suggested by President Roosevelt, who was to administer the affairs of the republic under the protection of the United States navy. Conditions in the island improved, a satisfactory arrangement was made with the creditors, and the question seemed settled. Sometime later a very similar condition occurred in the republic of Haiti, and President Wilson settled it in a similar way. Today these two republics are really protectorates of the United States, and a similar condition exists in Nicaragua.

Penalty the United States Must Pay for Position. The unfortunate side of the situation is that so many United States naval vessels are on "guardian duty." No one is disposed to deny that America is for Americans, but with the growth and prosperity of other American republics, it seems that the responsibilities of keeping American peace might well be shared by the more progressive American powers.[1]

[1] From 1913–1917 Mexico was in a state of revolution exceedingly dangerous to foreigners within the country, and to her border neighbors. At least three sets of officials were contending for the control of the government. Representatives of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, — the A. B. C. powers of South America, — were called into consultation by United States officials, and as a result of the negotiation the Mexican government considered most worthy was formally recognized by the powers (1915).

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN SEA

I. Geographical Relationship

A. Similarity to the Mediterranean

B. The American problem

II. The Effect of the Spanish-American War

A. On the moral position of the United States

B. On territorial extent of the United States

III. The Panama Canal

Thompson, p. 477
Poems, p. 652
Tappan, pp. 237–244, 254–263

A. Early interests

B. The Treaty of 1847
   1. The Panama railroad.

C. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty

D. French efforts to build a canal

E. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty

F. The trouble with Colombia
   1. Treaty provisions.
   2. Panama revolution.
   3. Colombia award.

G. Building the canal
   1. Problems of sanitation.
   2. Problems of construction.

H. Commercial importance

IV. The New Importance of the Caribbean

A. United States' responsibility with regard to the canal

B. Relationship of surrounding islands to problems of guarding the canal

V. Pan-Americanism

Fite, pp. 454–456
Thompson, pp. 433–434

A. Attitude of South-American republics

B. Conferences

C. The future

PROBLEMS

TOPIC

III. 1. In what way did the Panama canal extend the coast line of the United States?

2. Under what conditions could any nation in the world fail to profit by the building of the canal?

V. Should Spanish be taught in our schools?

Exercise: Draw a map of the Caribbean district showing important islands bordering it.

Special Report: Life of John Hay (see page 574)

The Caribbean the American Mediterranean. The waters of the Mediterranean sea wash the shores of three continents. For centuries that great inland ocean was the center around which their wars were waged, their commerce developed, and their culture spread.

The waters of the Caribbean wash the shores of two great continents, of a compact body of states having many common interests, and of a number of more or less important islands. Through its waters it seems probable that a large share of the trade of the world will pass in time to come, especially if peace and order are maintained in the bordering lands.

Progress in Porto Rico. The Spanish-American war made the United States the avowed champion of the rights of humanity in the Western Hemisphere. Her treatment of Cuba after the war made that island her friend and debtor. The treaty of Paris [1] added Porto Rico to the territory of the United States, and the government instituted in that island won the sincere allegiance of the Porto Ricans to the country of which they have become a part. Perhaps the future holds statehood for the little island which is now an organized territory, but whether it does or not, the protection of the United States has given the Porto Ricans a peace and prosperity never before enjoyed.

The Journey of the Oregon. To these responsibilities in the Atlantic, the United States added new possessions in the far Pacific. The safety of these widely scattered islands depended

[1] The official name of the treaty of peace of 1898.

on ships, and the long and dangerous stretches of water that divided these possessions made the maintaining of two separate fleets necessary. One of our staunchest warships had made the journey around South America during the war, and as the people waited through three long months for news of the gallant *Oregon*, new interest revived in an old project, the building of an isthmian canal.

Since 1898, the interests of the United States in the Caribbean have increased rapidly. Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands are possessions of the United States, while Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, the Republic of Haiti, and the Dominican Republic are classed as protectorates. Guantanamo Bay is a United States naval station.

The Treaty of 1847 with New Granada. Men had dreamed of trans-isthmian transportation in the days of Balboa (see page 44), and traces of the design appeared again and again in our early history. In 1847 some enterprising Americans had won from New Granada, now Colombia, the right to build a railroad across Panama, and this method of transportation the United States had guaranteed to keep *uninterrupted by disturbance.* In a country where revolutions were a frequent occurrence, this was a serious promise.

The Panama Railroad. The railroad was nearly completed

and ready to profit by the California gold rush of 1849. For the next ten years it proved a gold mine for its owners. After the trans-continental lines across the United States were built, the Panama railroad was no longer profitable. It continued to operate in a half-hearted way, however, and several times, according to her promise, the United States had to land troops to prevent its being interfered with by revolutionary disorders.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In 1850 an American Secretary of State sold the American birthright to build a canal, for what proved to be a mess of pottage. Great Britain was extending her boundary claims in Central America in a way that did not agree with the Monroe Doctrine. To stop her peacefully, Secretary Clayton suggested a compromise that took the form of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. By it England agreed not to extend her boundaries, and in return was assured equal rights with the United States in any canal that might be constructed across the isthmus. Clayton's excuse for making such an agreement was the poverty of the United States. Few people dreamed in 1850 that she would ever be wealthy enough to build a canal without financial assistance, and since England was then the money power of the world, it was natural to expect this assistance from her. But to uphold one part of the Monroe Doctrine, Clayton had sacrificed another.

French Efforts to Build an Isthmian Canal. In 1869 the French engineer De Lesseps completed the Suez canal, thus opening a great waterway for trade from the east to the west in the Old World. He at once began to dream of a similar service for the New World, and several years later a French company secured the exclusive right to build a canal across Panama. Into this enterprise the French poured a vast amount of money, and what was more important, a great number of human lives. Dishonest and incompetent contractors wasted millions of dollars, and the ignorance of health laws in the tropic regions led to a death rate that in one case claimed seven hundred out of eight hundred laborers. The French company had excavated about one-third of the total amount of dirt necessary when it went into bankruptcy and the undertaking was abandoned. By its concession,

however, it had the exclusive right, until 1910, to build the canal at Panama.

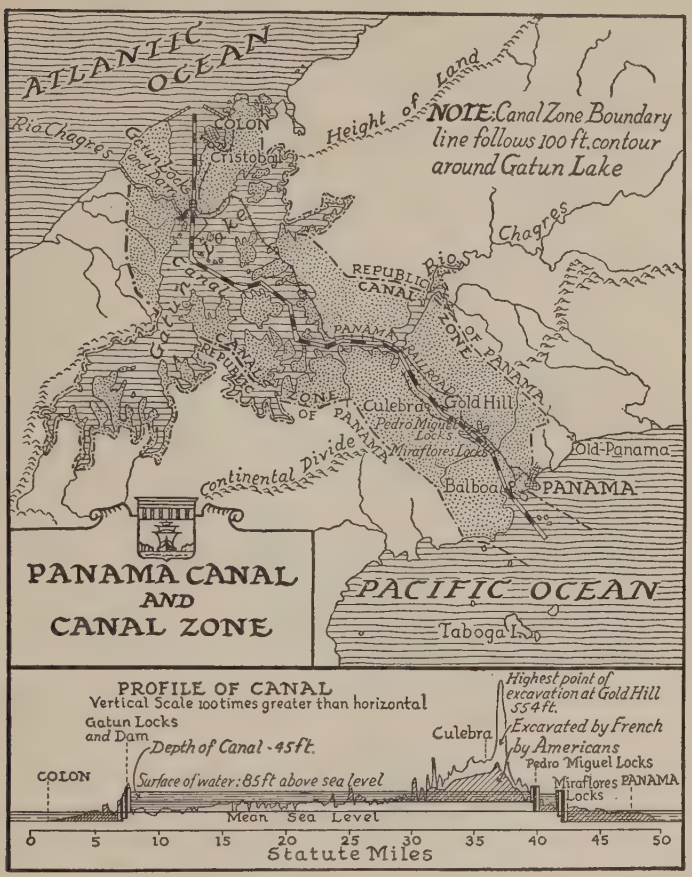
American Interest Quickened. The French effort stirred American patriotism. An idea began to take shape that whatever canal was constructed should be American built and American owned. The rapid development of the western coast, and the new responsibilities resulting from the Spanish-American war strengthened this desire. Moreover, the half century that had passed since the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, had seen a great increase in the wealth of this country. American enterprise no longer needed British capital.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Before anything could be done the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had to be abrogated. Great Britain had to be induced to surrender the profit of her ancient bargain. The Mistress of the Seas had proved herself quite unwilling to do this on other occasions, but tactful John Hay, Secretary of State under McKinley, succeeded in convincing Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador, that the whole world would profit by the canal, and that the United States was the only power that could build it. In the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, Great Britain surrendered her claim to a share in the project.[1] The first and, as many believed, the greatest difficulty in the way of canal construction was solved.

French Rights Purchased. The second difficulty was the matter of the French rights. These were purchased at a fair price, and the country was ready for the third, the treaty with Colombia. The United States asked for a strip of land across Panama, six miles in width, and extending from sea to sea, for which she agreed to pay Colombia ten million dollars in cash and a quarter of a million a year.

The Revolution in Panama. To everyone's surprise the Colombian senate rejected the treaty because of what was popularly supposed to be a scheme to get a higher price. The people of Panama were especially dismayed, for they were very anxious for the prosperity such a gigantic undertaking would bring their

[1] Except for a provision that the canal must be open to the vessels of all nations "on terms of entire equality."



The Panama Canal, begun by the French in 1883, completed by the United States, and opened for traffic in 1914, has already become one of the world's most important waterways. The official seal of the Panama Canal Commission is shown in the title.

little country. They felt their interests [1] were being sacrificed to the greed of the Colombian government, and promptly revolted, demanding complete independence. American marines from a ship in the harbor were landed to "protect the railroad," and

[1] The United States had under consideration another possible route across Nicaragua.

these, by blocking the operations of the Colombian troops, are said to have made possible the success of the revolution. The United States promptly recognized the independence of the new *Republic of Panama*, and in a very short while a treaty was signed which gave our government the rights which it wanted in the canal zone.

Later Treaty with Colombia. Colombia and other South American countries were indignant, and many people in the

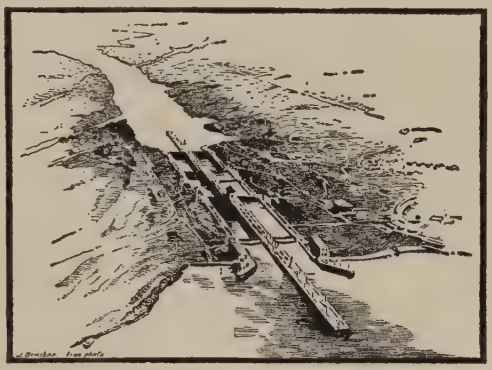
CULEBRA CUT

The Culebra Cut, of which the official name is the Gaillard Cut, is eight and one-half miles long. It runs for five miles through a range of low hills of which the highest is 540 feet high. The bottom of the cut is 300 feet wide and is forty feet above sea level. The engineering difficulties in making the cut were tremendous.

United States felt that the recognition and treaty had been too hasty to be absolutely fair. In 1921 this attitude of mind led to the ratification of a treaty with Colombia by which the United States promised to pay that country twenty-five million dollars "to restore friendly relations." To many this seemed a case of conscience money, and the measure had a divided public sentiment back of it.

Building the Canal. For almost two years before the actual work of building began, the canal zone was in the hands of a sanitary commission headed by Colonel Gorgas, of the army

medical corps. The work accomplished in making this tropical fever-haunted jungle a safe place was wonderful enough to belong to the realm of magic. "Spotless towns" for the workmen were prepared, systems of providing a pure water supply were devised, stagnant water was drained off, and every possible breeding place for the dread mosquito eliminated. "A single buzz will bring a half dozen sanitary police," one visitor wrote. By 1906 the work actually began. The great steam shovels moved thousands and thousands of tons of dirt, and though landslides discouraged and blocked progress from time to time, the work went on with a remarkable steadiness. The difference in sea level of the Atlantic and Pacific sides and the mountains that barred the way had to be overcome by a great system of locks. Rushing streams made great dams necessary, and innocent looking soft soil often covered solid ledges of rock. Still the work went on.



NORTH OVER GATUN LOCKS

An airplane view of Gatun Locks, looking from Gatun Lake toward the Atlantic.

The Canal Ready for Use. The United States kept careful watch over the health and happiness of its workmen. Homes were provided for them and they were encouraged to have their families come to the isthmus; schools were opened, and recreation centers prepared. Persistence and skill won, and on August 3, 1914, the American steamship *Christobel* made the first passage from sea to sea. The Panama canal was open for business. In the first year 1258 vessels passed through the canal, paying a total of almost five million dollars in tolls.[1]

[1] The question of tolls has created serious discussion. According to the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the canal was to be open to the vessels

Commercial Importance of the Canal. Such revenue, however, is only a small part of the commercial importance of the Panama canal. The shortened ocean route between the Atlantic and the Pacific means trade advantages to the whole world. Undoubtedly the United States profits most by it. Not only are new markets opened to the merchants of both coasts, but freight rates within the country are influenced by the new competition, and the same is true of water rates over the old routes.

CHARLOTTE-AMALIE, VIRGIN ISLANDS

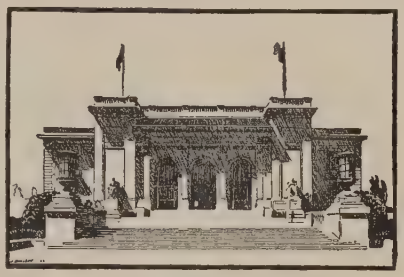
Charlotte-Amalie, the capital of St. Thomas, is said to have one of the finest harbors in the West Indies. In addition to its convenience as a distributing station for all the ports of the "American Mediterranean," it is on the direct line of communication between European ports and the entrance to the Panama Canal.

Purchase of the Virgin Islands. The control of valuables brings responsibilities. The Caribbean Sea lies to the northeast of the canal entrance, and the possession of any one of its outer rim of islands might prove a serious danger to the canal and its owner. Cuba is tied to the United States by bonds of gratitude and by the Platt amendment; Porto Rico is a satisfied territorial possession; while Haiti and Santo Domingo are also under our protection. But there were foreign owned islands in the guarding semicircle. Three of these, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix were known as the Danish West Indies, or Virgin Islands. Our government had made efforts to purchase them, and once Denmark had gone far enough to hold a plebiscite, or election, at which the people were given the chance to say whether or not they were willing to have their islands annexed

of all nations "on terms of entire equality." This would seem to mean that the toll rate should be the same for everyone. When our government has undertaken to make special rates for vessels owned by Americans, Great Britain has objected.

to the United States. Their vote showed that they were, although the purchase was not completed until the World War made clear to this country the importance of these island possessions.

Pan-Americanism. The United States does not have to solve all the problems of the western hemisphere. Every nation in either of the Americas has a right to its share of the burdens and rewards. Because of the size and importance of the United States, it has often fallen to the lot of this nation to take the leading part, but as the other republics have grown in strength and power, more and more attention is being paid to Pan-Americanism, the cooperation of all for the good of each. The movement is not new. John Quincy Adams favored it. Henry Clay worked for it. James G. Blaine, who was twice Secretary of State, made it the center of his foreign policy.



Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C.

The Pan-American Building is the home of the Pan-American Union, an official organization supported by the American Republics, devoted to the encouragement of Pan-American commerce, friendship, and peace. The building was largely the gift of Andrew Carnegie.

The Bureau of American Republics. In 1888 a Pan-American congress met in Washington. Its main object was the promotion of commercial relations between the states of the two Americas. In this it was not particularly successful, but it accomplished several other things, such as an agreement on uniform sanitary regulations, and other agreements concerning trademarks, patents, and extradition. Best of all it provided for the foundation of the *Bureau of American Republics* at Washington, which is supported by all the American nations, and collects information of value to all the American states. Andrew Carnegie built a beautiful Temple of Peace as the Washington home for the Bureau. Four Congresses [1] have been held since, in 1901

[1] The Pan-American Exposition was held in Buffalo in 1901 to popularize such a Congress. It was there that President McKinley met his death.

at the City of Mexico, in 1906 at Rio de Janeiro, in 1910 at Buenos Ayres, and in 1923 at Santiago, Chile.

The Wisdom of Cooperation in America. In 1915 the Pan-American Scientific Congress, which met at Washington, seemed to show the greatest advance in sympathy and understanding between the new world republics that has yet been displayed. The lesson of the World War in Europe was easily read. Nations over there were reaping a harvest of selfish greed and mutual distrust, and the innocent and the honorable were suffering with the guilty. The two Americas seemed to stand apart. Two great oceans separated them and their problems from the Old World. Common sense seemed to point out the wisdom of their standing together.

Mutual Interests of the Sister Republics. The Caribbean Sea with its Panama Canal extension is a center around which their mutual interests cluster. Their prosperity depends upon its security. For its safe control the United States must accept a large share of the responsibility, but the best assurance she can have of the safety of the "American Mediterranean" is the sympathetic trust and good will of her sister republics.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PACIFIC

I. The Problem — *Thompson, pp. 479–482*
- A. The advancing frontier
- B. The Pacific barrier
- C. The demands of trade
- D. Relation to the Monroe Doctrine

II. The Philippines
- A. History — *Hart, p. 382*
- B. Possibilities — *Thompson, pp. 474–476*
- C. Effect

III. Hawaii
- A. Annexation (1898)
- B. Story of development

IV. The Samoan Dispute — *Poems, p. 597*

V. The United States and the Chinese Problem — *Fite, pp. 498–500*
- A. The "Open Door"
- B. The Boxer Uprising (1900)
  1. The indemnity.

VI. Japan
- A. With regard to immigration
- B. With regard to Oriental trade

VII. Present-Day Relationships

Problem

TOPIC

I. Where did the movement for equal suffrage win its first success? Why?

II. How was the question of dealing with the Philippines different from that of governing the land of the Mexican cession?

The Advancing Frontier. The history of our country has been the story of the advancement of the frontier. There, on the outposts of civilization, men have found out that it was what a man could do that made him worth while, and not what he owned, or what his father had done. Manhood suffrage was one of the

earliest results of this belief in the equality of man, and many other important gifts have come from the same source. About 1870 the western frontier line disappeared.

The Frontier Extended. To many it seemed that advancement must end at the Pacific ocean, and that growth thereafter must be intensive rather than extensive. The great stretch of virgin country that had been brought under cultivation was producing a surplus. Unless that surplus was to be wasted, the United States must find a market, and a market meant trade. If the monster ships bearing American products were to sail

SEATTLE IN 1870

Seattle was settled in 1852. In 1870 it was merely a pioneer town.

here and there over the waterways of the world, protection must be assured them, and that could only be done if the United States controlled a sufficient number of naval stations, appropriately located. The coast towns of the Pacific were particularly interested, for with an abounding vigor, energy, and ability, they were dreaming of a development that would make them at least the equal of their Atlantic sisters. The results of the Spanish-American War gave them their opportunity by extending the American frontier, and placed the United States in a new relationship in the Family of Nations.

The Problem of the Philippines. The men who were charged with the making of the treaty of peace which closed that war found their most perplexing problem to be "What shall be done with the Philippines?" Many of the people of the United States demanded that they be surrendered, and condemned any

suggestion that they be kept, as "Imperialistic." But "surrendered to whom?" was the natural query of the peacemakers. Not to Spain, certainly, for her administration had been a failure, and with her shattered navy there could be no hope of anything better. Nor could the Filipinos be trusted to govern themselves, for they were a people of many tribes and nations in every stage of civilization except the actual one of being so. To turn the islands over to them meant a period of frightful misrule that would end whenever any strong power might choose to annex them. There were, even then, nations in Europe and Asia who were strongly suspected of having just such designs.

SEATTLE IN 1920

By 1920 Seattle, with a population of 315,312, was the largest city in Washington. It has a municipally operated street-car line, a wonderful park and play-ground system, is the site of the University of Washington, and has a thriving industrial and commercial life.

A New Responsibility. American people began to read Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden"[1] with a great deal of

[1] "Take up the White Man's burden —
Send forth the best ye breed —
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild —
Your new-caught, sullen people,
Half-devil and half-child.

* * * * *

"Take up the White Man's burden —
Have done with childish days —
The lightly proffered laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!"

attention. Many came to believe that because of the rights of humanity the United States had a responsibility in these partly civilized islands that she could not ignore.

The Philippines, an archipelago consisting of more than 3000 islands, large and small, came into the possession of the United States at the close of the war with Spain. The total area is about the same as the combined areas of New England, New York, and New Jersey.

Development of the Philippines. It was in this spirit that President McKinley and Congress met the situation. A Filipino insurrection was put down and peace restored in the islands. Then sanitary measures were introduced and schools opened. A territorial legislature was elected by the natives and given added power from time to time, although it was held in check by the upper house and the governor, who were appointed by the President. What was done in preparing Cuba for independence is being done more slowly and completely for the Philippines, and it may be that in time the United States will leave the Filipinos "a free and independent people."

There is also a possibility that the island group may some day become one of the United States. Meanwhile the Filipinos have

become prosperous and happy. Their representative sits in Congress, their students come to our colleges, they enjoy special trade privileges, and are sure of the protection of a strong and powerful nation while they are being prepared for self-government.

Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. During the war with Spain another "step beyond the boundary" was taken by Congress in the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, half-way stations on the way to the Philippines. The majority of the white inhabitants were Americans and had ardently desired a union with the United States. Their wish had been disregarded because of popular belief in the "policy of isolation" on which the Monroe Doctrine was said to be based.

War conditions awakened our people to the value of the Hawaiian Islands, and many found an excuse for the annexation in the fact that the Monroe Doctrine concerned Europe and not Asia.

A Native Home in the Philippines

The cocoanut palms which shadow this typical native home are of the greatest importance to the Filipinos. These trees furnish them with shelter, building material, clothing, and food, in addition to being important commercially.

The Territory of Hawaii. The Hawaiian Islands had been Christianized by missionaries early in the nineteenth century, and had been fully civilized for many years. Nevertheless, better schools, new sanitary projects, and every possible device for bettering their conditions were immediately introduced. A territorial form of government was adopted for the time, but there is little doubt that some day there will be another star in the national flag to represent the state of Hawaii.

Samoa. The acquisition of these two groups of islands, and of Guam,[1] established the fact that the United States had a *colonial* policy in the Pacific. Since 1872 our country had pos-

[1] By the Spanish-American War treaty.

sessed harbor privileges in the Samoan Islands,[1] a valuable right that several times caused trouble with other nations, especially with Germany. On one occasion a timely hurricane was all that prevented actual blows. A "joint protectorate" over the group of islands by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States was not successful, and in 1899 a treaty of division was made which gave us the island of Tutuila with one of the finest harbors in the Pacific. The following year the United States occupied Wake Island, and so completed the list of her possessions in the western ocean.[2]

City of Honolulu

Honolulu has been the capital of the Hawaiian Islands since 1820. It stretches for several miles along the shore between the sea and the mountains in a setting of great natural beauty, and contains many handsome public buildings, parks, and homes.

The Chinese Problem. Our Pacific interests gave us new neighbors and new responsibilities in our relationship with them. China, at this period of her history, was in the position of the poor traveler in the story of the Good Samaritan. She needed help. In spite of her enormous population she had just been hopelessly outclassed in a war with her much smaller neighbor, Japan. Thus made aware of China's real weakness, several nations of Europe had taken advantage of her. They had acquired slices of territory or "spheres of influence" under various pretexts, in order to better control Chinese trade. Such a slicing-off process, if unchecked, would prove fatal to the life of the country.

John Hay and the "Open Door" Policy. No one saw this more clearly than the American Secretary of State, John Hay. Not only was the situation terribly unfair to China, but American trade was likely to suffer if European nations were allowed to

[1] Made famous by the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson.

[2] There are several other islands in the Pacific ocean, most of them scarcely more than rocks or coral reefs, over which the flag has been raised from time to time.

monopolize it. In 1899 Hay made one of the cleverest diplomatic moves in history. He addressed notes to the leading foreign nations asking them if they desired monopoly rights in China. Naturally, none of them was willing to admit that she did, and all denied it. Thereupon John Hay issued his famous "Open Door" circular, in which he asked each nation to promise not to try to limit China's trade. Each nation thought the other nations had agreed, and that therefore she must, and as a result the "Open Door" policy was sanctioned by all the leading powers of the world.

A Samoan Home

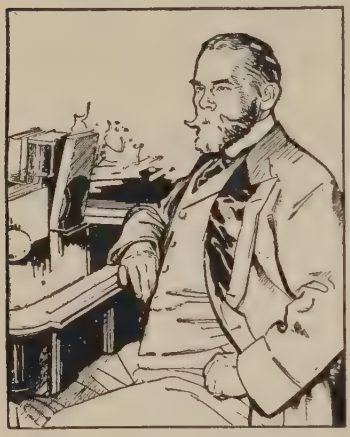
The ideal climate makes clothing and shelter of small importance to the natives.

The Boxer Uprising. Meanwhile, there occurred an uprising of a society of the Chinese known as the "Boxers." The number of Boxers was comparatively small, but they seemed to have the support of the Imperial Chinese government. Their object was the driving out of the foreign devils. They began with the murder of native Christians. The fury spread. The German ambassador was assassinated and the members of the foreign legations were shut up in their own section of Peking. For weeks, no word was received from imprisoned foreign representatives and many believed they had been massacred. Then a cipher message came through, telling a story of frightful sufferings and asking for help. The United States took a prominent part in the expedition [1] sent to relieve the legations, and this gave her the right to take part in the peace negotiations which followed. Once more John Hay used his mutual agreement plan, this time to get the

[1] The Germans won the nickname "Huns," used so frequently in the World War, at this time. In his farewell address to his troops, Kaiser William II told them to act like the Huns who in the Middle Ages had ravaged Europe. They obeyed their emperor's command.

nations to promise not to take advantage of prostrate China by making territorial acquisitions. No one of them was willing to seem overanxious, and consequently China was again saved. A heavy indemnity was demanded, however, and the United States later won China's gratitude by returning a part of her share of it, to be used for the education of Chinese students in America.

Continued Friendship for China. Another opportunity to show our friendship for China came in 1904. The war between Japan and Russia seemed likely to be fought in part on Chinese soil. Secretary Hay secured the cooperation of Germany, Great Britain, and France in recognizing the neutrality of China. Later, they agreed that the war should not result in any cession of Chinese territory to neutral powers. President Roosevelt was instrumental in bringing the Russo-Japanese war to a close, and the treaty of peace which concluded it was made at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.



JOHN HAY, 1834–1905

Again, when China engaged in the revolution which made her a republic, the United States exerted herself to prevent intervention on the part of the nations of Europe. President Wilson led the way in the recognition of the new republic, and Chinese-American relations have continued on a simple and friendly basis.

Relations with Japan. Japanese connections have not been so pleasant. The Japanese are an ambitious and intelligent people suffering from fearful overcrowding of population at home. There is a popular belief that Japan has looked with envious eyes on the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and that her relations with some of the South American republics are not beneficial to our government. The most serious troubles of the two govern-

ments, however, have been due to immigration problems and to the question of trade in Asia.

Japanese Immigration. In 1907 and 1908 the Japanese government agreed to assume the responsibility of preventing Japanese immigration to the United States. That did not solve the problem of what to do with the Japanese who were already here. Racial prejudice made them unpopular, and their different standards of living were regarded as a menace by American workingmen. States that have a large Japanese population have insisted on dealing with "the little brown people" in the way that seemed most advantageous to the white inhabitants, regardless of national treaties. No solution of the difficulty has been reached, and the situation is the cause of an unfriendly feeling that is especially unfortunate because of its irritating effect on every Japanese question that comes up for discussion.

THE ENGLISH LEGATION AT PEKING

The legation is the official residence of an ambassador representing his government in a foreign country. Both the ambassador and his legation are regarded by international law as being under the protection of the country which he represents. Consequently when China permitted the Boxer attack on the foreign representatives, and the besieging of the British legation in which they had taken refuge, the Chinese gave foreign nations a right to intervene.

Japan and Eastern Trade Problems. In recent years the United States has given increasing attention to the question of trade opportunities in the Orient. John Hay took the first step by securing the approval of the nations to the policy of an "open door" in China, which as far as commerce is concerned meant that all nations should have equal opportunities for trade. There have been some indications, however, that Japan was not in sympathy with this policy, and was trying to secure special privileges for her own people. Her annexation of Korea, her attempts to get special concessions from the weak and inefficient

Chinese government, and her military occupation of Siberia have seemed to many Americans to indicate that our trade with Asiatic countries would be in danger, unless Japanese advances were checked. The Pacific ocean seemed likely to be the center of a great rivalry between these two countries.

A New Foreign Policy. Expansion brought its problems as well as its triumphs, and in the first quarter of the twentieth

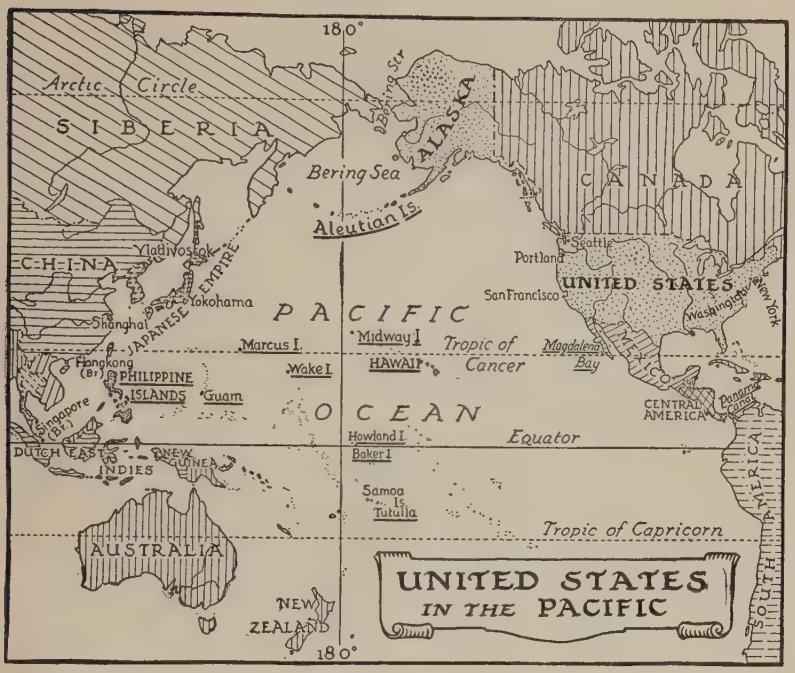
COMMODORE PERRY AT YOKOHAMA

In 1854 Commodore Perry concluded the treaty which opened up Japan to western civilization and began a new era in Japanese history. On this occasion Perry astonished the Japanese by an industrial exposition of American products and manufactures, including an illustration of the railway and telegraph at work.

century our country found it necessary to reconstruct its foreign policy.

With a colonial empire in the Pacific; with trade connections extending to every nation on the globe; with interests that were affected by every change in the conditions of the people with whom she dealt, the United States could no longer cling to her old idea of isolation. As a world power she had new responsibilities,[1] and though she would continue to put purely American

[1] From 1898 on, the United States took part in a number of international agreements, and such sharing of world responsibilities was an evidence of her new position in the "Family of Nations." The most important of these



The possessions of the United States in the Pacific are underscored. These include numerous small islands besides Hawaii and the Philippines. Magdalena Bay is a United States naval station.

problems first in importance, she could not fail to recognize that the old ocean barriers had almost ceased to exist, and that if she would save herself, she must use her strength and power and youth in the service of the world.

were the Hague Peace Conferences, 1899 and 1907, held for the purpose of making war less likely to occur and its practices less barbarous when it did happen.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

I. The Demand for Changes in the Government — *Fite, p. 512*

- A. Conservatives and progressives
- B. The trusts *vs.* the people
  1. Power of the trusts.
  2. Roosevelt's attitude.
- C. Election of 1908
  1. Taft elected.
  2. Becomes a conservative President. (*a*) Payne-Aldrich tariff. (*b*) The progressives in Congress. (*c*) Congressional election of 1910.
- D. Election of 1912
  1. Republicans nominate Taft.
  2. Progressive party organized. (*a*) Roosevelt nominated.
  3. Democrats nominate Wilson.
  4. Result of the election. (*a*) Underwood tariff. (*b*) Progressive legislation.
- E. Election of 1916
  1. Decline of the Progressive party.
  2. The progressive spirit continues.

II. The Conservation Policy — *Thompson, pp. 419–421*; *Fite, pp. 521–523*

- A. Need for saving our resources
  1. Waste and fraud.
  2. Attitude of Roosevelt.
- B. Attitude of later Presidents
  1. Taft.
  2. Wilson.
- C. Making new resources useful
  1. Draining swamp lands.
  2. Irrigation.
  3. Alaska railroad.

III. Reforms in Machinery of Government — *Fite, pp. 525–526*

- A. Reforms in local government
  1. Short ballot.
  2. Referendum.
  3. Initiative.

B. Popular election of Senators
   1. Seventeenth Amendment.

C. Woman suffrage
   1. Women demand the right to vote.
   2. Nineteenth Amendment.

IV. Government Serves the People *Thompson, pp. 448–450*

A. Post office department expanded *Hart, p. 369*
   1. Rural free delivery.
   2. Postal savings banks.
   3. Parcel post.

B. New system of taxation adopted
   1. The demand for an income tax.
   2. Need for a constitutional amendment.
   3. Sixteenth Amendment adopted. (*a*) Income tax law.

C. Better currency system secured
   1. Federal Reserve Banks.
   2. Elasticity of currency.

D. Liquor traffic abolished
   1. Demand for prohibition. (*a*) State action.
   2. Eighteenth Amendment.

E. Progressive accomplishments
   1. Due to progressive Republicans.
   2. And progressive Democrats.

Problems

TOPIC

I. Would the United States be better off if there were no trusts?

III. 1. How could the popular election of the President be brought about? Would it be desirable?
2. Could a woman become President of the United States?

IV. Which is fairer, a tax on incomes, or a tax to raise the same amount of money levied on some article of common use, such as sugar?

Exercise: Make a list of the things you have seen wasted recently. Suggest ways in which these things could have been used to advantage.

Party Divisions the Result of Temperament. Mankind has always been divided into two groups, one of which is pretty well satisfied with things as they are, and the other of which believes that our happiness and prosperity depend on making important changes. People who belong to the first group are *conservatives*, while those in the other group are *progressives*. Conservatives sometimes go to the extreme of opposing every change; they are

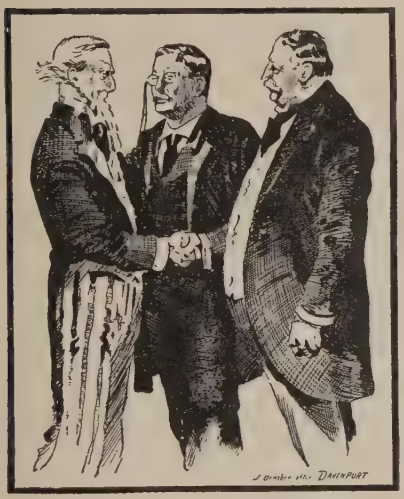
then called ultra-conservatives or "standpatters." Some of those who believe in progress go to the opposite extreme of wishing to change everything and accepting whatever is new as certainly better than the old. These people are called "radicals."

Conservatism a Necessary Safeguard. The world has always moved forward. However, changes are not always changes for the better, and conservatism is a necessary safeguard against the too rapid modifications which radicals demand. Real progress comes when we learn to value the past and to treasure what our forefathers accomplished, and use that past as a safe foundation on which to build the new laws and the new customs which new conditions require.

The Growing Power of the Trusts. By the beginning of the twentieth century, so many new problems had developed that a great demand arose for changes in the laws and in the Constitution to enable the government to deal with the situation. For example, the power of the trusts (see page 446), not only in the business world but also in politics, was the cause of serious concern. Gas companies, street railway companies, and other corporations were generally believed to be bribing city and state officials in order to secure the kind of laws they wanted. When it became known that a considerable number of Congressmen were large stockholders in corporations, or had served as lawyers for them, men began to fear that the same corrupting influence was creeping into the national government. The unpopularity of the trusts was increased by the fact that many of them succeeded in escaping from the penalties of the law. A Federal court assessed a fine of $29,000,000 against the Standard Oil Company on the ground that it had been receiving illegal rebates from railroads on freight rates. The case was appealed to a higher court, which reduced the fine to a very small amount. The Sugar Trust was discovered to be cheating the government out of import duties by a system of false weighing. There were other similar cases. No power except that of the national government could control such organizations.

Laws to Promote the Public Welfare. President Roosevelt voiced the feelings of the mass of common people when he asserted

that there were principles of right and justice as old as the Ten Commandments, which corporations as well as individuals should be made to observe. He won enthusiastic support when he succeeded in getting through Congress a new law to regulate railroad rates, a pure food and drugs law, requiring all food and drug products to be truthfully labeled, and a law for Federal inspection of all the large meat-packing plants. The common people began to regard Roosevelt as the champion of the square deal, and he was pictured as a David going forth to meet Goliath.



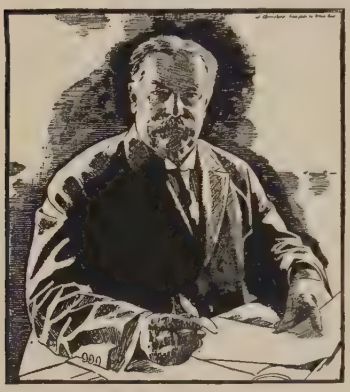
"He's All Right, Uncle Sam"

Theodore Roosevelt's endorsement of Taft for President did a great deal to insure the latter's election.

Election of 1908. President Roosevelt was urged to become the Republican candidate for reelection in 1908, but he absolutely refused. Instead he persuaded the party to nominate William H. Taft of Ohio, who was then Secretary of War. The Democrats selected William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who had been their candidate in 1896 and in 1900. There was a popular demand for a lowering of the tariff rates, as well as for government control of the trusts. The Democrats promised both; so did the Republicans. Faith in Roosevelt led many people to vote for his choice of the candidates, and Taft was elected.

Progressives Dissatisfied with Taft's Conservatism. Roosevelt's administration had been a period of rapid progress, and millions of voters regarded him as the leading champion of the people's rights. Taft proved to be a conservative President, content to move forward slowly. Immediately after his inauguration, he called Congress in special session to lower the tariff rates;

but when the Payne-Aldrich law was finally passed, very few rates had been lowered and some were higher than before. Taft signed the bill and declared that it "was the best tariff law the Republicans ever made, and therefore the best the country ever had." The majority of the people did not agree with him Among the Republicans in Congress, the division between the "standpatters" and the "progressives" became distinct. In the Congressional election of 1910, the people showed their disapproval of the new tariff law by defeating a large number of "standpat" Congressmen and electing Democrats or progressive Republicans in their stead. The new Congress passed several measures to lower the tariff, all of which the President vetoed. In spite of the fact that the Taft administration pushed the cases against the trusts, and secured the breaking up of the Standard Oil Corporation and of the Tobacco Trust, the progressive elements of the Republican party were not satisfied. They wanted more rapid progress.



William Howard Taft, 1857–

William Howard Taft has served his government in many capacities. He was the first civil governor of the Philippines; he represented the United States as administrative officer in Cuba; and as Secretary of War under Roosevelt he controlled the Panama Canal project. After his term as President, he was again called to governmental service, by the appointment in 1921, to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Division in the Republican Party. The leaders of the Republican party, satisfied with the administration, planned to renominate President Taft. A large group of Republicans who called themselves "Progressives" opposed this, and favored Roosevelt as the only man whose policy agreed with theirs, and who was popular enough with the mass of the people to insure a Republican victory. A bitter contest over the seating of delegates in the nominating

convention resulted in a split in the party. The "standpatters" nominated Taft, while the Progressives withdrew, and in a later independent convention formed a new Progressive party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt as their candidate for President.

Woodrow Wilson Elected President. The Democrats after a long contest between the conservative and progressive elements in that party selected Woodrow Wilson, a progressive. He had been president of Princeton University, and was then serving as a reform governor of New Jersey. The split in the Republican party made the task of the Democrats easy, and Wilson was elected.

Wilson's First Administration. As soon as President Wilson was inaugurated, Congress was called together, and the Underwood bill, which lowered tariff rates, was passed. Several other progressive measures to curb the trusts (see page 447), and to make the government a better servant of the people, were also pushed through by the President and his supporters.

Election of 1916. In 1916, the Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes as their candidate. Roosevelt refused to accept another nomination from the Progressive party, and urged his followers to vote for Hughes. Many of them did so; but others, believing that President Wilson had shown himself to be a true progressive, supported him. It was one of the closest contests in our history, but Wilson was reelected.

The Waste of Natural Resources. The last twenty years have seen many important changes in our country's government, for the spirit which demands changes is to be found in Americans of all parties. None of these reforms is more important than that which has taken place in our method of caring for the great supplies of forest, water power, and mineral wealth which our country possesses. Attention had been called many times to the manner in which the natural resources of America were being wasted. When it became known that in addition to waste there had been extensive frauds, by which great tracts of valuable forest and mineral lands were falling into the hands of speculators, there came a strong demand for a change in the national policy

of handling the treasure house of the people. President Roosevelt was the spokesman for this demand, and declared that it was the most important issue before the country. He went as far as the laws permitted in stopping the sale of the remaining

This map, based on a recent bulletin issued by the United States Reclamation Service, shows about thirty of the principal irrigation projects in the United States.

forest and mineral lands. In 1908 he called the governors of the states together in Washington and urged them to do what they could in the states to conserve our natural resources.

It was none too soon. The country's supply of coal, oil, copper, iron, timber, and other resources was in danger of being

exhausted. Wasteful methods of mining were destroying untold wealth; wasteful methods of coking coal were permitting the escape of gases and coal tar which we now know were worth far more than the coke that was saved; wasteful methods of lumbering not only were destroying millions of young trees, but also were leaving the cut-over forests full of inflammable material which helped to make forest fires the cause of frightful losses. The destruction of the forests was seriously affecting the rainfall of great sections of the country.

Conservation Policy Adopted. In spite of powerful opposition from those who hoped to profit by a speedy development of these natural resources, the government adopted a policy of conservation. President Roosevelt set aside the great coal regions of Alaska so that economical methods of mining the coal could be insisted upon. President Taft continued the good work which Roosevelt had started. Laws were passed making possible the creation of important forest reserves in many parts of the country, especially in the west. President Wilson also showed himself a friend of conservation, and the same policy was continued during his administration.

MAN MADE FALLS NEAR SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Electrical power can be generated by artificial falls. The ones pictured generate the power to pull C. M. and St. P. trains across the Rocky Mountains.

Development of Unused Resources. In addition to the work of saving resources which were being wasted, conservation included plans for developing resources which were not being used. There were many square miles of swamp land in the country which could be made very valuable by drainage, and other large areas which needed irrigation to make them useful. Congress appropriated large sums of money for both kinds of work, and a great deal of land was made available for settlers. One of the most important of these projects was a great dam across the Salt river in Arizona, begun in 1905 and finished six

years later. It is named the Roosevelt dam in honor of the President who did so much to get this kind of work started. From this dam the water is taken in ditches to the fields, where today farmers are producing great crops of fruit, grain, and vegetables, on land which once grew nothing but sagebrush.

Another project was the construction of a government railroad from the coast of Alaska to the great coal fields of that territory, in order to make this vast supply of coal available for the communities of the Pacific coast.

Great Trestle on Government Railroad in Alaska

The transportation problem is the greatest difficulty to be overcome in the development of Alaska. The government built railroad running from the coast to Fairbanks through the very heart of the territory will reach the great coal fields, and be an immense aid in the developing of both mining and agricultural resources. The difficulties of construction are great, but American engineering skill is proving equal to them.

Progressive Reforms Demanded. The spirit which urged the adoption of the conservation policy saw the need for other changes. Believing that the people would be better able to make their wishes known if the machinery of government were improved, the progressives of all parties united to secure reforms of that kind. The Australian ballot [1] had been in use in nearly all the states for many years. In most communities there were so many

[1] So called because it was introduced into America from Australia. It is a system of secret voting which is believed to make bribery of voters more difficult.

officials to be elected, and the ballots contained so many names, that it was almost impossible for any voter to inform himself regarding the character and fitness of all the candidates. Progressives now advocated the "short ballot" [1] as an important step toward intelligent voting.

Another plan for taking the control away from the political bosses provided for having the candidates nominated by primaries at which all the people might vote, instead of by conventions in which the bosses seemed to have greater power.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1820–1906

Susan B. Anthony was a born crusader. She took part in the struggles against slavery and against intemperance, but the unfairness of woman's position in the world stirred her spirit most. Miss Anthony believed that equal suffrage would correct that evil, and to that end she lectured, wrote, and organized societies with an unselfish devotion that ranks her as one of the great reformers of her time.

The Initiative and the Referendum. Because city councils and state legislatures have often passed measures which the people strongly opposed, two plans for giving the people more direct control over legislation are often proposed. One is the referendum, under which the people get a chance to express their disapproval of a law already passed by the legislature or city council. It amounts to a popular veto. The other is the initiative. Under this plan, a group of people can propose a new law. If the legislature does not pass it, its advocates can have it submitted to all the voters for their approval or disapproval. If a majority of the people vote for it, it

[1] The short ballot means reducing the number of officers to be elected by having many of the less important places filled by appointment. In Federal elections we have always had the "short ballot." None of the Federal officers, except President, Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives, are elected by the people.

becomes a law exactly as if it had been passed by the legislature. These measures have been adopted by numerous cities and by some of the states. They do not affect the national government.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 1815–1902

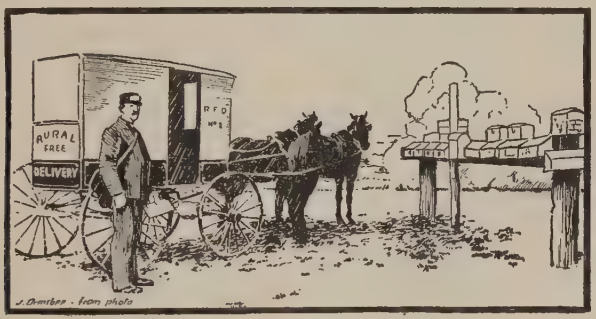
Born of well-to-do parents, Elizabeth Cady Stanton might have lived a peaceful and protected life had she so chosen. But she saw how hard less fortunate women had to struggle for a living, and became convinced that equal suffrage was the only way to make life easier for them. From 1846, when Mrs. Stanton issued the call for the first woman's rights convention, until the end of her long life, in spite of sneers, taunts, and misunderstandings, she never gave up the struggle. She ranks as one of the great pioneers in the movement which accomplished its end when the nineteenth amendment was added to the constitution.

Popular Election of Senators. Two amendments to the Constitution of the United States were urged for the same reason, to give the people a greater share in the government. The first was a change in the method of electing United States Senators. The Constitution had provided that they should be chosen by the state legislatures (**15**). The Senate had become the stronghold of the conservatives, those who were opposed to the changes which the progressives were urging; and many people believed that this was due to the way in which the Senators were elected. For many years there had been a popular demand that the people be allowed to vote for Senators exactly as they did for members of the House of Representatives. The Senate long opposed the change, but finally agreed to such an amendment. The necessary number of state legislatures ratified it and within a few months the amendment became a part of the Federal Constitution, in 1913 (**147**).

Women Granted Equal Suffrage. Another amendment, the nineteenth, granted the greatest extension of suffrage in the nation's history. By its provisions no person was to be deprived of the right to vote because of sex.

The *Woman's Rights* movement began in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1848 the women held a convention in which they demanded the passing of laws granting greater consideration to womankind. At first the movement was violently opposed and ridiculed, but nevertheless it gained ground. Women were demanding and getting equal educational opportunities,[1] and were entering the business world to compete with men. It was not surprising that they should demand equal suffrage also.

Wyoming, then a territory, was the first to grant such a right (1869) and gradually the movement spread through the western



RURAL FREE DELIVERY MAIL

No other one improvement has added so much to the enjoyment of life for the farmer and his family as the rural mail delivery.

states and then rolled eastward. Finally, Congress submitted a constitutional amendment to the states, designed to give women the same right to vote that men had. The required number of state legislatures gave their approval, and the equal suffrage amendment was added to the Constitution in August, 1920 (**151**).

Expansion of the Postal Service. The same spirit which had been demanding and securing these changes in the machinery of government was also demanding that the government should

[1] Oberlin College, Ohio, was the first one in America to admit women to the same courses as men. In 1922 there were more than 100,000 women in American colleges.

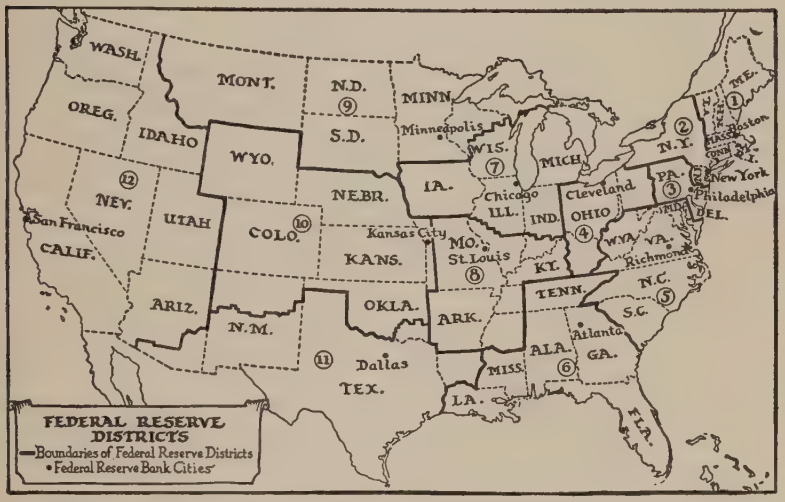
take new steps "to promote the general welfare" (1). The service rendered by the post office department was greatly enlarged. As early as 1896, rural free delivery of mail had been begun, and this was later extended to cover almost the whole country. In 1910, a postal savings bank system was established, under which any person over ten years of age might open a savings account at the post office, depositing his money with the national government and receiving interest on it. Two years later, the parcel post was established. Private express companies had been charging very high rates for handling small packages. The people welcomed the new system and within three years the post office was handling more than a billion parcels a year.

"A Square Deal for All"

The Income Tax. The great increase of wealth in the United States which had accompanied the age of big business, and especially the fact that much of the wealth was in the hands of a comparatively small number of men, led to a strong popular demand for a tax on incomes. Such a tax had been levied by Congress before; but the Supreme Court had held that it was unconstitutional, because an income tax is a direct tax and must therefore be apportioned among the states according to population (7). The only way to secure a Federal income tax, therefore, was through a constitutional amendment. Such a measure was proposed by Congress in 1909. It was ratified by the necessary number of states and became the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution in February, 1913 (146). Within a few months, Congress enacted an income tax law, levying a tax on all incomes of $3000 or more. On large incomes, the rate of taxation was higher than on small ones.[1]

[1] In 1917 the income tax law was amended, making the rates much higher, as high as 67% on very large incomes.

Federal Reserve Banks. At the same time, the demand for a better currency law was met by the Federal Reserve Bank Act of 1913. This law established twelve Federal Reserve Banks in each of twelve districts, all under the control of a Federal Reserve Board. These Reserve Banks receive deposits from other banks and from the government, but not from individuals. They have power to issue Federal Reserve Bank notes when there is an unusual demand for money, and to redeem them and cancel them

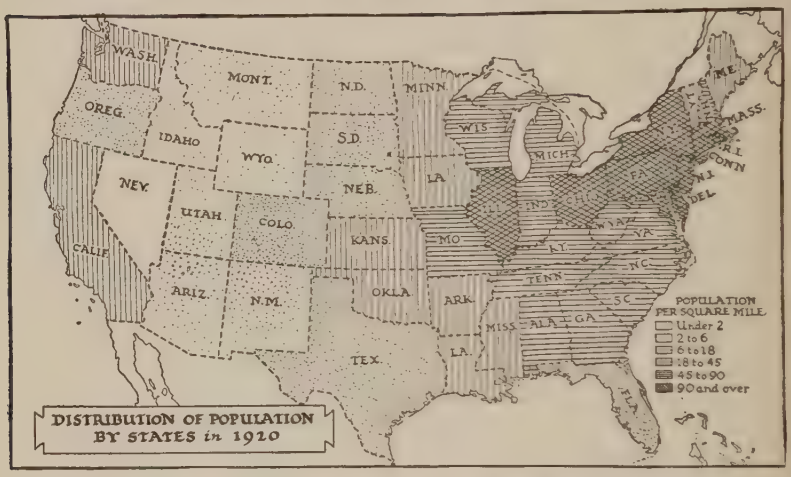


Under the law passed in 1913, Federal Reserve Banks have been established in twelve cities as shown on the map. The law seems to have been an important factor in averting financial panics in recent years.

when the need has passed. The plan proved very valuable during the World War. This arrangement for increasing and decreasing the amount of money in the country according to the demand should aid in preventing future panics.

Adoption of Prohibition. Another great forward step was taken in 1917 when Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to prohibit the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage uses. In the early days of the republic, nearly everybody drank liquor. But the evil effects of intoxicants in

breaking up homes, increasing poverty, and multiplying crimes led to a great reform movement. In 1851, the state of Maine prohibited the manufacture or sale of liquor anywhere within its borders. The movement in favor of prohibition spread slowly, sometimes by townships or counties, sometimes by whole states, until by 1917 twenty-six states had adopted it as a state policy. All but two of the forty-eight states ratified the pro-



A comparison of this map with those on pages 220, 247, and 318 will show the trend of population in the United States since 1790.

hibition amendment to the Federal Constitution as proposed by Congress, and it became effective in January, 1920 (**149**).

Progressive Democracy and the Common Welfare. The progressive spirit which became powerful in the early years of the twentieth century found its first great spokesman in Theodore Roosevelt. Its achievements have been partly due, however, to a later progressive, Woodrow Wilson. For the spirit of progressive democracy is found in both the old parties, and its victories have been largely the result of cooperation by men who have worked together in the belief that the common welfare is more important than any party.

CHAPTER XXXIX

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

I. The Beginning of the War *Fite, p. 530*

A. How the war began

B. Causes
1. Material ambitions.
2. Military alliances.
3. Desires for trade.

C. The German purpose and plan
1. The plan.
2. Why it failed. (*a*) Battle of the Marne.
3. Trench warfare.

D. Countries involved in the war

II. The Neutrality of the United States *Fite, pp. 532–535*

A. The people and neutrality
1. President Wilson's appeal.
2. Attitude of Germans and Irish.
3. Attitude of others.

B. The government and neutrality
1. Problems of trade. (*a*) The British blockade. (*b*) The sale of munitions.

C. Submarine warfare
1. Why Germany began it.
2. Sinking of the Lusitania. (*a*) Effect in United States. (*b*) President Wilson's note.
3. The pledge to safeguard lives. (*a*) Effect of "watchful waiting" on election of 1916.
4. Ruthless submarine warfare. (*a*) German announcement. (*b*) How it was carried out.

D. Neutrality no longer possible
1. Submarine warfare violates all rights.
2. German intrigue in the United States.
3. German plots in Mexico.

III. The United States Enters the War

A. Declaration of war
1. Wilson's statement.

B. Getting ready to fight — *Fite, pp. 541–543, 546*
1. The task.
2. Securing an army. (*a*) Selective service.
3. Training an army.
4. Providing food and equipment. (*a*) Effect of submarines. (*b*) Herbert Hoover.
5. Building of ships. (*a*) The need. (*b*) Emergency Fleet Corporation.
6. Government control of railroads.
7. Paying the bills. (*a*) Taxes. (*b*) Liberty loans.
8. The Red Cross.

C. Our Allies

IV. The United States Helps Win the War — *Fite, pp. 537–539*

A. The German Drive for Victory
1. Russia makes peace. (*a*) Effect on German plans.
2. Success of the German attack.
3. Results of German success. (*a*) Pershing's offer. (*b*) Foch made commander-in-chief.

B. Transporting the American Army
1. The great need.
2. Use of British ships.

C. Americans ready to fight
1. Château-Thierry.
2. Cantigny.
3. Help to the Allies. (*a*) In Italy. (*b*) At Rheims. (*c*) Along the entire front.

D. The Americans share in victory
1. Capture of St. Mihiel.
2. The Fight in the Argonne. (*a*) Sedan reached.
3. Germans sue for peace.
4. Importance of American help.
5. The Armistice. (*a*) Effect on Germany.

Problems

TOPIC

I. Why did the Germans go through Belgium instead of directly across the border into France?

II. 1. Suppose the United States should find herself at war with some other country, where would she get her munitions? Would the fact that we have only a few large munition plants affect your answer?
2. Compare the relations of the United States to Europe in Wilson's administration with relations in Jefferson's administration.

IV. Why is a railroad junction of so much importance in war?

Exercise: Ten pounds of gold is worth about $2500; a ton of gold is worth about half a million dollars. Suppose that the total cost of the war was in gold and loaded into freight cars, each holding forty tons. What would be the value of the gold in each car? How many cars would be needed? Sup-

pose that fifty of these cars make a train one-half mile long. How many trains would there be? What would be the total length in miles?

Special Topic: Life of Woodrow Wilson (see page 582)

Beginning of the War in Europe. On June 28, 1914, the crown prince of Austria was shot and killed while on a visit to Sarajevo, an important city in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The news of this event seemed of far less importance to most Americans than the daily baseball score. A month later Austria suddenly accused the Serbian government of a share in the murder,[1] and declared war. Russia began to arm to protect Serbia; and Germany, paying no heed to the efforts of other countries to find a peaceful solution of the difficulty, declared war on Russia. She at once invaded little Belgium, whom she was bound by treaty to protect, as the easiest way to reach France, the ally of Russia. The same day Great Britain declared war on Germany. Americans awoke with a start to a realization of the fact that the greatest war in history had begun, and they at once began to ask the cause.

Racial Ambition as a Cause of War. They learned that the murder of the Austrian crown prince was only an excuse. The real cause lay in a conflict of national ideals and ambitions, which may be grouped under three heads. First, there were several races in Europe who had no country of their own, and each of them wanted one. The Poles, for example, knew their country had been divided, over a hundred years before, among Prussia, Austria, and Russia, and they longed for a free and independent Poland. The Serbs, likewise, lived partly in the kingdom of Serbia, partly in Turkey, and partly in southern Austria. They wanted to live under one flag and have one government of their own. With half a dozen such races within her

[1] The basis for the accusation was that the assassin was an Austrian Serb who had recently visited Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. The city where the murder had taken place was in southern Austria which was largely inhabited by Serbs who hoped some day to get free from Austria and become a part of Serbia.

boundaries, Austria-Hungary was in serious danger of being torn into shreds, unless these hopes could be crushed.

Alliances as a Cause of War. In the second place, there were the great military alliances. The German Empire was the child of war, and the people had been educated to place great faith in Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron." (See page 453). The Germans dreamed of a still greater Germany which could only be realized by more wars. As a part of her preparation, she formed a strong military alliance with Austria and Italy in 1882. The other powers of Europe felt the necessity of creating an opposing alliance in order to maintain the "balance of power."[1] France and Russia, drawn together by a common distrust of Germany, formed a Dual Alliance in 1891. In 1904, Great Britain, aroused by the great navy which Germany was building, made an agreement with France promising mutual help in case of attack.

Enormous Cost of "Preparedness." All these countries were spending immense sums of money each year in keeping up great armies and navies. The cost was so burdensome that the common people were objecting to the huge taxes which were necessary. Germany was the leader in this race to get the biggest army and navy. At the Hague Peace Conferences, in 1899 and 1907, proposals were made to limit the size of armies; but Germany refused to agree to any limitation. In 1913, England proposed that all the countries of Europe should agree not to build any more ships for a year; again Germany refused. The existence of these two rival military groups in Europe was a constant source of danger, and more than once war was avoided by a very narrow margin.

Trade Rivalry as a Cause of War. A demand for a larger share in the trade of the world was the third cause of the war. Great Britain long had the advantage of the rich commerce with India and the East. Germany, whose industries had been growing marvelously, wanted a share of this trade. She planned by means of a German railroad through Austria, Serbia, Bulgaria,

[1] This is a phrase long used in the history of Europe. If one nation or group of nations gains additional power, this disturbs the balance; and something must be placed on the opposite side of the scale to restore that balance.

and Turkey to reach the Persian Gulf, from which the sea route to India would be short.[1]

The German Purpose. In other words, Germany in 1914 wanted a war. If a successful war could be waged, her taxpayers would be better satisfied that the army was worth what it was costing. If Serbia could be crushed, that would remove the danger of a hostile nation across her chosen route to India. If France were defeated, that would weaken a dangerous rival and make it easier to defeat Great Britain later. For Germany hoped and expected that Great Britain would stay out of this war.[2]

Woodrow Wilson, 1856–1924

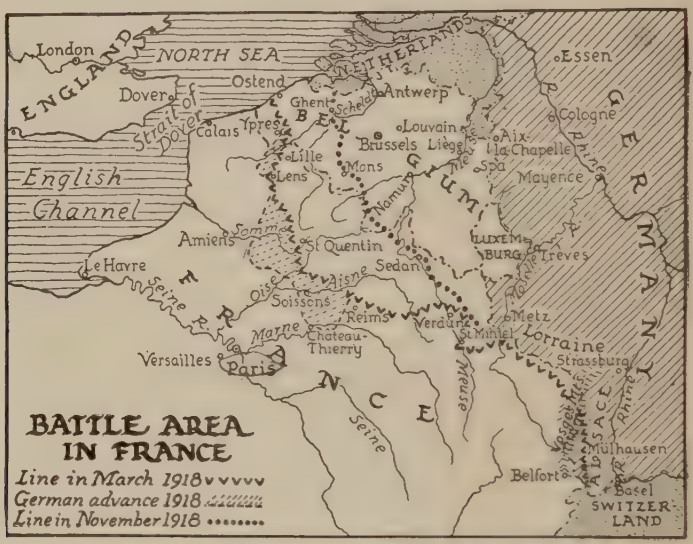
The German Plan. The German plan was simple. It consisted in sending a small force of troops to aid the Austrians in holding back the Russians on the eastern frontier, while with her main army she would capture Paris and compel the French to surrender. Four things happened which spoiled the plan. First, the plucky Belgians put up such a stubborn fight that it took the German armies longer than they had planned to reach the French border. Secondly, the enormous Russian army moved more quickly than had been thought possible, and was making such havoc in East Prussia that it became necessary to send a part of the German troops in France back to fight the Russians. Thirdly, the British at once came into the war and put their small army into the field;[3] and lastly, the French generals proved to be more than a match for the Ger-

[1] This was known as the Berlin to Bagdad railway. It was about three-fourths completed in 1914.

[2] Great Britain was in the midst of serious trouble over the question of home rule for Ireland; so that the Germans had some reason for believing that she would remain neutral.

[3] Great Britain had never kept up a large standing army. As soon as possible she began to drill and equip a large army, and sent millions of men to France before the war was over.

mans. The invaders were decisively defeated in the battle of the Marne, six weeks after the war began. They had almost reached Paris, but after this battle they retreated for several miles. Both French and German armies proceeded to dig trenches across France all the way from the North Sea to the border of Switzerland; and during almost four years of the bloodiest kind of



For nearly four years the line of trenches across Belgium and France remained almost stationary. The German attack in the spring of 1918, threatening Paris, was followed by a considerable advance by the allied troops, an advance which was stopped only by the signing of the armistice.

warfare, neither side was able to break through the lines of the other army, nor to push them back for any great distance.

The World Involved. Later, Turkey and Bulgaria joined Germany and Austria in the war; and Italy, Roumania, Japan, and several other countries came in on the side of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The American People and Neutrality. When they learned of the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, the American

people were stunned and amazed that such a catastrophe could happen in a civilized world.[1] President Wilson at once issued a proclamation of neutrality and appealed to the people of the United States to be "impartial in thought as well as in action." What he asked was impossible. There were some who saw in the war only a conflict between two groups of powers who were both at fault. But many Americans of German birth or parentage had a great love for the Fatherland and hoped to see it win a great victory; and many Irish in America were eager to see England defeated. These could not be "impartial in thought."

RUINS OF ALBERT CATHEDRAL, FRANCE

It was such wanton destruction of buildings on whose beauty the whole world had a claim that did much to intensify the bitterness against Germany.

There were other Americans who believed that they understood what Germany was trying to do, and they found themselves unable to regard impartially those who were guilty of plunging the world into such a disaster. The cruelty of the Germans toward the brave Belgians, and the increasing horrors of German methods of warfare, added to that impossibility. So that while almost all the American people remained neutral so far as their actions were concerned, they soon began to take sides in their thoughts and in their hopes.

[1] A professor in one of our American colleges had a book just coming off the press to prove that a general European war was impossible.

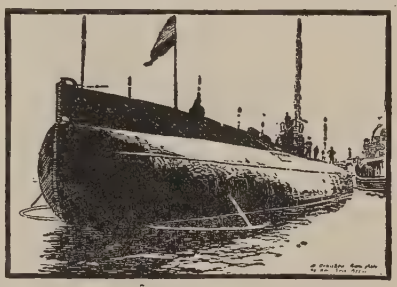
The Problems of Neutral Trade. Rightly, the government maintained a policy of strict neutrality. But the position of a neutral nation soon became trying indeed. Vexing problems of neutral trade, of contraband, and of blockade arose almost at once. Great Britain soon swept all the German ships from the ocean. She blockaded the German ports, stopped and searched vessels to see if they were carrying war supplies, and successfully cut off nearly all of the trade with Germany. All of this she had a perfect right to do; it was the very thing the United States government had done during the Civil War. But when Great Britain added cotton and food to the list of war supplies which were contraband and subject to seizure,[1] America entered a protest. There was even more reason for complaint when American ships bound for Norway, Sweden, and other neutral countries were stopped and searched, on the ground that supplies sent to these countries would be reshipped from them to Germany.[2] These difficulties with Great Britain soon sunk into insignificance, however, beside the greater peril from the submarines.

The Sale of Munitions. United States trade with Great Britain and France could be carried on without hindrance, because there were no longer any German ships on the ocean to check it. Enormous quantities of food and war materials were sold to these countries. German sympathizers complained that such commerce was unfair, and that it was a violation of neutrality to sell supplies to one side and not to the other. When the Austrian government expressed such an idea, it was very easy for the United States to point out that the Germans and Austrians had a perfect right to buy supplies here, that it was not our fault if they had trouble getting them delivered, that all nations, including Germany, had followed the practice of selling war supplies to countries at war, and, therefore, of course, it would be very unfair for the United States to change the rules and stop selling.

[1] Cotton was used in the making of high explosives. There was good reason for classifying it as contraband; but the argument for putting food on the list was not very satisfactory. However, no one nation had the right to add any article to the contraband list accepted in international law.

[2] All the supplies which the British seized were paid for at high prices, so that the owners lost no money.

Germany's Trying Situation. As a result of British success on the sea, Germany found herself in a trying situation. She had begun a great war, hoping to win a speedy victory and dictate harsh terms of peace. Now the war was sure to be a long one; and unless she could find some method of breaking the British blockade, she was almost certain to be defeated in the end. She did not dare to risk an open fight between her navy and that of Great Britain. So the German war lords decided to see what could be done with submarines.



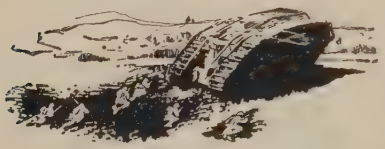
The Deutschland, a German Submarine

The Deutschland, a submarine 315 feet long, was built by a private company in Germany for the purpose of running the Allied Blockade, and carrying especially valuable freight. It made its first voyage in sixteen days, landing in Baltimore, July 9, 1916, with 700 tons of dyestuffs, valued at $1,000,000.

Beginning of Submarine Warfare. Using as an excuse the fact that the British were seizing foodstuffs as contraband of war,[1] Germany announced on February 4, 1915, that the waters around the British Isles were a "war zone" within which she proposed to sink all enemy ships "even if it will not always be possible to save their crew and passengers." On May 7, the world was horrified by the sinking of the unarmed *Lusitania* by a German submarine, with a loss of 1152 lives, of whom 114 were known to be American citizens. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced the deed as "piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practiced." President Wilson at once sent a note to the German government expressing the concern and amazement of the United States at such wanton destruction of the lives of those who were not engaged in the war. He added a warning that the United States would not "omit any word or

[1] In January, 1915, the Germans had captured an American vessel loaded with wheat for a British port, and sunk her on the ground that wheat was contraband of war. It was difficult to understand how food could be contraband when seized by the Germans and not contraband if the British captured it.

act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens, and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment." A long series of notes followed, President Wilson trying by every means to avoid an open clash with Germany. At length, after a whole year of such note-writing, he secured a pledge that the German government would not sink merchant vessels "without warning and without saving human life, unless the ship attempts to escape or offers resistance."



TANK IN ACTION

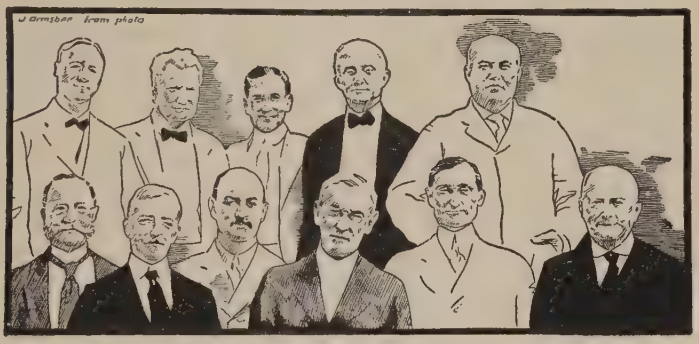
The tank as an effective fighting machine was a product of the Great War. Its distinctive feature is a long belt derived from the Holt agricultural tractor, built in Peoria, Illinois. In the war machine, the shape of the tractor was considerably modified and its power greatly increased.

Apparent Success of the President's Patience. This was far less than the United States had a right to ask; and as President Wilson afterward said, "the precautions taken to save the lives of crew and passengers were often meager and haphazard." Nevertheless, there were many people in the country who felt that President Wilson's patience had "kept us out of war," and that argument was frequently used in the presidential election of 1916 as a reason for keeping him in the White House. The Republicans, on the other hand, criticized Wilson's policy severely, Roosevelt declaring that the President had met "a policy of blood and iron with a policy of milk and water."

Ruthless Submarine Warfare. Scarcely was the election over when it became plain that even President Wilson's patience could not keep us out of war, unless we were ready to surrender all the rights which Americans held dear. In January, 1917, Germany announced her purpose to put aside all restraints of law and of humanity and use her submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach the ports of Great Britain or any of the ports of Europe which were controlled by the allies.[1] Said the

[1] The American ambassador in Berlin had been sending warnings that the Germans were building great numbers of submarines and would "take

German official on this occasion: "When the most ruthless methods are considered the best calculated to lead us to a victory and to a swift victory, they must be employed. That moment has now arrived." Carrying out this new policy, vessels of every description, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, or their errand, were sent to the bottom, many times without warning, and without thought of help or mercy for those on board. Even hospital ships and ships carrying food for the starving people of Belgium, ships to which Ger-



PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS WAR CABINET

From left to right, lower row: Secretary of Commerce Redfield, Secretary of State Lansing, Secretary of Agriculture Houston, President Wilson, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, Postmaster General Burleson. Upper Row: Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Secretary of Labor Wilson, Secretary of War Baker, Attorney General Gregory, Secretary of Interior Lane.

many had promised safe passage, were sunk with the same reckless disregard for compassion or principle. In all, before April, 1917, 686 *neutral* vessels had been sunk by German submarines, and 226 American citizens had been the victims of submarine warfare. Said President Wilson: "Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be

up ruthless submarine warfare again" not later than "February or March, 1917." In the German order the Americans were given permission to send one passenger ship a week to England. To be safe, it must be painted in alternate stripes of red and blue, "like a barber's pole," as one indignant patriot put it.

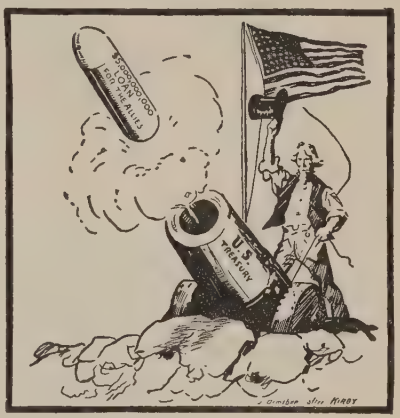
paid for. The present German submarine warfare is a warfare against mankind."

The Declaration of War. The United States could no longer remain neutral. The people of America had been amazed at the violation of Belgian neutrality; they had been horrified by the sinking of the *Lusitania;* they had listened unbelievingly to the tales of German cruelty to women and children in France and Belgium; they had been dumbfounded at the utter disregard for the rights of humanity which the German leaders had shown. Now they were aroused to action. It was clear that the most sacred rights of our nation and our people were being ignored and violated. It became known that many of the strikes in American factories and shipyards had been brought about by paid German agents; that bombs had been placed on outgoing ships intended to blow them up at sea; and that German money was being freely spent to influence public opinion through newspapers and speeches. Then, in March, it was discovered that the German government had been trying to induce Mexico to join in a war against us.[1] Plainly the peril was nearer than we had dreamed. In fact, the actions of Germany had become nothing less than war against the United States, and early in April, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress to declare that a state of war with Germany existed. Congress acted promptly and the resolution was passed on April 6.

President Wilson's Statement of Causes. "We are about to accept the gauge of battle," said Wilson, "with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the

[1] On January 19, 1917, Alfred Zimmerman, German undersecretary for foreign affairs, wrote to the German minister in Mexico, telling him of the plan to renew the submarine warfare, and instructing him to offer the Mexican government a chance to reconquer Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico as her share of the booty in case she would join in an attack on the United States. This was the climax of a long series of trying situations in our relations with Mexico. That country was suffering from a severe attack of chronic revolutions. American troops had been sent to Vera Cruz in 1914 to protect American interests. In 1916 a Mexican revolutionary leader made a raid on the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and troops were sent into Mexico to capture the offender. He succeeded in escaping, and after a year the troops returned to the United States. How much of this trouble was due to German intrigue is not yet known.

nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privileges of men everywhere to choose their own way of life and obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them."



THE "FIRST SHOT" TO HELP WIN THE WAR

The Loan of $5,000,000,000 to the Allies, immediately after entering the Great War, proved to the world that the United States was a power to be considered.

America Unprepared. The task before the United States was a stupendous one. With a very small army, with practically no ships to carry her men overseas, without the war equipment which her soldiers would need, she had entered the greatest war the world has ever known. For nearly three years, millions of men had been fighting in Belgium and France, in northern Italy, along the Russian frontier, and in a dozen other parts of the world. Well might the Germans laugh at the danger from so unprepared a foe, and expect to be able to starve Great Britain into submission, before the United States could get ready to help. Germany forgot the power of the one great commodity with which her new opponent was prepared, money. The United

States began to lend vast sums to the war exhausted nations, and continued to lend money at the rate of a half million dollars an hour as long as the war lasted. These loans made the final victory possible.

Creating an Army. The first great step was the creation of an army. Volunteers crowded the enlistment offices to get into the regular army or the national guard units. At the suggestion of the President, Congress passed a selective service, or draft, law. This law was based on the principle that it is the duty of every citizen to serve his country whenever she needs him, even to the extent of giving his life that she may endure. All men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty were required to register; and later, all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. These men were then classified according to their fitness for military service and the ease with which they could be spared from other duties. Then half a million names were drawn, and these men were sent to training camps. As the war continued, other men were called for training until we had about four million men in the American army.

Camp Gordon

Great military camps were established in different parts of the country, where the men were equipped and trained for service before being sent overseas.

Training the Army. To get the training camps, great tracts of land were purchased, and thousands of carpenters set to work to put up the necessary buildings. For officers to train the recruits, most of the men in the country with any military experience were used, and others were prepared in special officers' training camps. For a time, the men drilled in civilian clothes and with broomsticks or old guns for equipment. The factories of the country were busy day and night turning out uniforms, modern rifles, and other supplies. Several months were taken up

with getting ready to train soldiers, and several months more in actual training, before the first of our new army was ready to go to France.

German Submarines and the Food Supply. Meantime, the German submarines were busy sinking every ship they could find. Such quantities of food supplies and so many vessels were lost in this way that for a time it seemed possible that the British and the French might actually be brought to the verge of starvation. Because food was necessary to win the war, and to feed the starving peoples of Belgium and other regions where war had destroyed all food supplies, Herbert Hoover [1] was appointed

The American Battle Squadron on Patrol Duty in the North Sea.

federal food administrator, and given almost unlimited power over the production and distribution of food. Farmers were urged to raise the largest possible crops. City gardens were encouraged; and people instructed to do everything possible to stop the waste of any food supplies. To help the British anti-submarine warfare, a small fleet of destroyers under Admiral Sims was sent to British waters; and our whole navy was soon busy helping to guard against the submarines.

Problems of Transportation. The great problem was how to transport the army we were training, the war supplies we were

[1] Herbert Hoover had been in charge of the Belgian Relief Commission, a civilian organization which had devoted itself to caring for the forlorn Belgian refugees suffering under German military rule.

manufacturing, and the food we were raising, across the Atlantic where they were badly needed. The United States had almost no merchant vessels, very few shipyards in which to build them, and almost no skilled shipwrights. An Emergency Fleet Corporation was created and given vast sums of money with which it proceeded to construct shipyards, train workmen, and build ships as rapidly as possible. The German ships in American harbors were seized, repaired, and put into service.

The railroads of the country soon proved unable to handle the great increase in traffic which war conditions produced. In December, 1917, the government found it necessary to take control of all the railroads. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, was also made director-general of the 260,000 miles of railway in the country. Under his direction, the roads were operated as one system; many unnecessary trains were discontinued; and all the equipment was used to transport soldiers and war supplies to the points where they were needed.

Financing the War. To pay the enormous cost of all these preparations, Congress levied very heavy taxes on incomes, inheritances, the large profits of industries, and many other things. The rest of the money was secured through Liberty Loans and by the sale of War Savings Stamps. Almost everybody was ready to lend his money to the government in this hour of need, by purchasing Liberty Bonds.[1]

Civilian Aid for the Soldiers. The people of the country also showed their readiness to do everything possible to help win the war, by subscribing large sums of money for the use of the American Red Cross and other organizations, which were working for the welfare of the boys in khaki. The Red Cross established well-equipped hospitals in the regions where they would be needed; doctors and nurses and all kinds of medical supplies were provided. As a result of the remarkably efficient work of

[1] The total cost of the war to the United States was about twenty-two billion dollars, or about a million dollars an hour for each hour that the war continued. Almost half as much more was loaned to Great Britain, France, Italy, and other countries which were helping to fight Germany. It was estimated that more than one-fourth of all the men, women, and children in America bought at least one Liberty Bond.

the Red Cross and other agencies, fewer men died of disease, and more wounded men were restored to health, than in any previous American war.

Events in Europe During the Year of Preparation. During the first year the United States was at war, she was able to send fewer than 200,000 soldiers overseas. During all that year, the British, the French, the Italians, and the Belgians kept up the hard fight against the Germans. A revolution in Russia overturned the old government in that country; and the Bolsheviki, who came into power, made peace with the enemy. This made it possible for Germany to send the armies which had been fighting the Russians to join her other armies on the western front.

The German Drive for Victory. By March, 1918, Germany was ready to begin "the most powerful operation in the history of warfare." This was a determined effort on her part to win a decisive victory before the new American army could be transported across the seas. After a terrific bombardment during which their artillery fired millions of projectiles, the Germans sent an army of 1,000,000 men against a comparatively small British army. The latter was cut to pieces and forced to retreat for a considerable distance. Two weeks later a similar attack forced the allied armies to retreat at another point.

Foch Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces. The terrible danger had some excellent results. General Pershing, who was in command of the American troops in France, offered them for use wherever they might be needed. More important still, the British, the French, and the Americans agreed to put all their forces under the command of one man, and Marshal Ferdinand Foch was selected for the responsible place.

Transporting the American Army Overseas. There was dire need for the American soldiers who were still in the training camps; the United States was far behind with her shipbuilding program; but the British threw commerce to the winds, and her people went without many of the necessities of life, while with her boats she made a bridge across the Atlantic. The French also helped, and every American ship which was afloat was pressed into service. During the next six months, almost

2,000,000 American soldiers were landed in France,[1] where their presence was of tremendous importance.

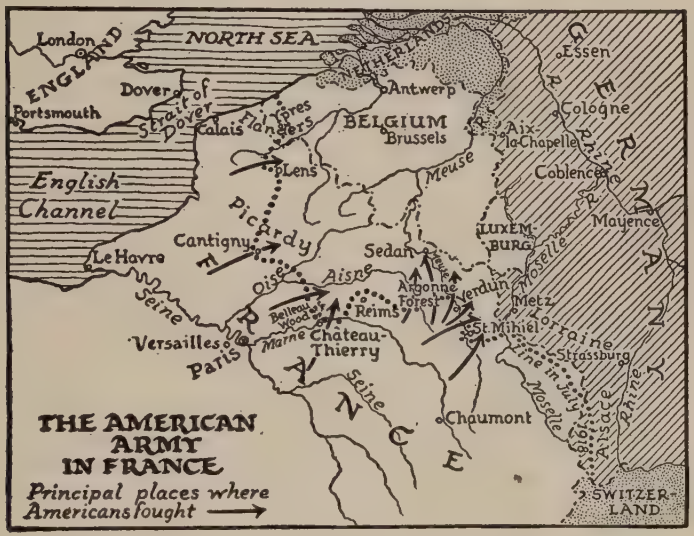
Turning the Tide. The American soldiers had not long to wait for an opportunity to prove that they could fight. In May, 1918, the Germans began another colossal attack similar to those which had succeeded so well a few weeks earlier. This drive was aimed directly at Paris, and the German army forced its way through until it reached Château-Thierry, only forty miles from the French capital. American troops were rushed by train and motor trucks to aid the sorely pressed French, and together the two armies stopped the Germans and drove them back. At the same time another American force captured Cantigny from the Germans. There was no doubt after these battles that the American soldiers could fight, and fight well.

General Ferdinand Foch, born at Tarbes, France, has spent his life in the study of war. At twenty he was an artillery man. Later he was sent to the Ecole de Guerre, where he was first student, then instructor, and finally commandant. At the outbreak of the Great War he was put in command of the Ninth Army. He commanded the French Center at the Marne, and led the division that saved the channel ports at Ypres. When it was decided to unite the allied armies under one head, General Foch was selected to be the commander, and his masterly conduct of the remainder of the war proved him to be fully worthy of the trust.

By the end of June, the coming of the Americans had increased the allied army until it was larger than that of the Germans, but the latter were not yet defeated. A great Austrian drive against the Italians

[1] Of this number about 50 % were carried in British ships; 45 % in American ships, and the remainder in French and Italian ships. It was the greatest long-distance movement of troops in the history of mankind. So successful were the British and American navies in keeping off submarine attacks that the whole 2,000,000 were transported with a loss of less than 400 due to submarines.

made it necessary to send soldiers, including a few Americans, to Italy. Together, the allies were able to turn back the Austrians, and there was no longer any danger on the Italian front. In July the Germans planned another great drive near Rheims in France. Here they met with no success, American troops again having a share in breaking up the attack.



As in the map on page 516, the heavy shading indicates Germany, the light shading, neutral Holland and Switzerland, and the unshaded area, the allied countries. The arrows mark the principal regions where American troops fought in the battle line which stretched from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Driving Back the Germans. With the Austrians checked in Italy, and the Germans at a standstill in France, Marshal Foch decided the time had arrived to take the offensive. As another French general said, he was "ready with his tanks, his cannon, his shells, his Americans." The battle was soon raging along the greater part of the line from the North Sea to the Swiss border. The Americans fought side by side with the British and the French, at a great many different points along this line, and had a full share in driving back the German armies. In September, General

General Pershing, 1860–

Pershing, with a force of 600,000 men who were nearly all Americans, made a great attack on the Germans at St. Mihiel. Here they won a victory, which proved that "the allies had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy had one to reckon with."

The American forces then pressed northward down the Meuse river, driving the Germans before them. During the whole month of October and the early days of November raged the bloodiest battle in American history. German machine-gunners had established "nests" all through the Argonne forest and contested every foot of ground. "Every day thousands upon thousands of men fell, and the whole zone was an inferno of machine guns, shells, and deadly gas." Pershing believed that the quickest way to end the war was to push forward with never a stop. By the 6th of November he had reached Sedan, the capture of which would block the use of the most important railroad that supplied the German troops in Belgium.

The Armistice Signed. The British, the French, and the

General Pershing has always lived a soldier's life. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1886. In the Spanish-American war he was promoted for gallantry in action. Then he fought against the Filipino insurgents, and in 1916 commanded the expedition into Mexico against the bandit Villa. Upon the entrance of the United States into the World War, General Pershing was given command of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Italian soldiers had been fighting just as furiously along other parts of the battle line, and with such success that the Germans now sued for peace. After some discussion, an armistice was signed, and on November 11, 1918, all fighting was stopped. The greatest war the world had ever seen was over, and rejoicing knew no bounds.

America's Share in the Victory. The losses of the war were frightful. The American army had lost 77,118 killed, and more than 200,000 others had been taken prisoners or severely wounded. When we compare this with the millions which the British and the French had lost, and with the equally frightful losses on the other side, America's part in the war seems to have been small. Perhaps a fair way to estimate our importance in the winning of the war is to picture several boys trying to roll a very heavy stone up a steep hill. It is too heavy for them, and they are not quite able to roll it up. Along comes another boy, who lends his assistance, and together they finish the task. The strength of America added to that of the allies was enough to finish the job of defeating the Germans.

The Passing of Empires. Under the terms of the armistice, the Germans agreed to surrender all their submarines, practically their entire navy, and great quantities of war equipment. The German army was to be disarmed and go home. The allied forces were to occupy all the territory of Germany west of the Rhine. As soon as possible a formal treaty of peace was to be made.[1] The terms were severe, but not too severe. The kaiser and the crown prince did not dare to face a defeated Germany and fled to Holland. A German republic was at once set up. The Austrian empire had also collapsed. The days of kings seemed to be ended, and there was a real hope that the world had been made safe for democracy.

[1] The representatives of the various governments concerned met at Versailles, and made a treaty which the Germans accepted, May, 1919.

CHAPTER XL

FACING THE FUTURE

I. Problems of Readjustment

A. Industry
   1. How everybody had helped to win the war. (*a*) Miners. (*b*) Trade workers. (*c*) Farmers. (*d*) Big business men.
   2. Getting back to a peace time basis. (*a*) Difficulties. (*b*) Early prosperity. (*c*) Later slump.

B. Labor problems
   1. Adamson law
   2. High wages.

C. The railroads
   1. Government operation.
   2. Esch-Cummins law.
   3. How to earn enough to pay expenses.

D. War taxation
   1. Efforts to reduce expenses
   2. The budget system.

II. The Problems of Making Peace *Fite, pp. 548–550*

A. The "Fourteen Points"

B. Wilson at the peace conference
   1. The League of Nations. (*a*) America's interest in arbitration. (*b*) The "League to Enforce Peace." (*c*) The plan adopted.
   2. Other treaty provisions. (*a*) Indemnities. (*b*) Territorial changes.

C. The senate and the treaty of peace
   1. Reasons for opposition. (*a*) Political. (*b*) Historical.
   2. Wilson appeals to the country. (*a*) His illness.
   3. Senate proposes amendments to the treaty. (*a*) Wilson's opposition.
   4. The treaty rejected.

D. The election of 1920
   1. The candidates.
   2. Wilson asks for a "referendum." (*a*) Why this was not practical.
   3. The issues in the campaign. (*a*) High taxes. (*b*) Wartime restrictions on business. (*c*) Dislike of Wilson. (*d*) Hard times.
   4. Harding elected.

E. Peace at last
1. The peace resolution.
2. A new treaty with Germany.

III. The Washington Conference

A. Need for disarmament

B. Limitation of navies

C. Islands of the Pacific agreement

IV. The Forward Look

A. Growth of the United States

B. The hope of the future

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Problems

TOPIC

I. Why is the prosperity of the railroads important to everyone in the United States?

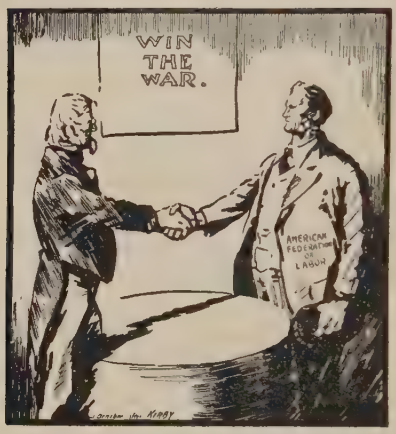
II. 1. Compare the reactions between Wilson and the Senate after the World War with Johnson's trouble with Congress after the Civil War.
2. Who pays the taxes? Can you suggest any system of taxation which would please everyone?

III. Would it be safe for the United States to give up building a navy if other countries did not? Why?

Problems of the Post-war Period. The problems of peace are no less difficult than those of war. The signing of the armistice brought America face to face with a new set of tasks, the readjustment of business to its customary channels, and the framing of a treaty of peace.

Cooperation to Win the War. The war had not been won by soldiers alone. In addition to the four million men in uniform there were twenty million other men and women who had been doing their utmost to help win the war. American miners had brought forth unheard-of quantities of coal and iron and copper to supply the enormous demand at home and overseas. American steel mills and other factories had been turning their wheels at top speed for twenty-four hours a day, while hundreds of new plants had been erected in answer to Pershing's call for more guns, more shells, and other equipment. Thousands of factories whose ordinary business was peaceful enough had taken up new

work to meet the needs of the soldiers at the front.[1] American farmers had been working harder than ever before, and purchasing new and better machinery, such as tractors, in order to produce the food that would win the war. American business men had been giving their time and energy to the task of fitting all these efforts together and making them count toward the one great end. Hundreds of such men had gone to Washington and served at a dollar a year to the best of their ability on various commissions. Among them was Bernard Baruch, one of the greatest of New York brokers, who became head of the War Industries Board, charged with the purchase of enormous quantities of war supplies. To speed up aircraft production, John D. Ryan, president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, one of the largest in the world, was put on the job, and soon had the work going so smoothly that a few more months would have seen thousands of American airplanes on the battle front. To hasten the work of shipbuilding, Charles M. Schwab, head of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was placed in charge.[2] "Big Business" proved as ready to sacrifice, and as efficient in service as any other element in the country.



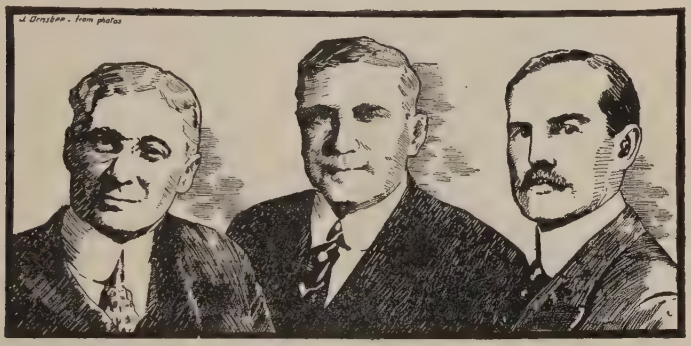
LABOR DID ITS PART IN WINNING THE WAR

Readjusting Business to a Peace Basis. When the armistice

[1] For example, a large factory which in peace times made automobile lamps began to turn out hundreds of thousands of aluminum mess kits. The Bethlehem Steel Company built submarines in parts and sent these to the seacoast, where they were assembled.

[2] Schwab at first refused to undertake the task, because, he said, he was no politician. When he declared that his first step would be to move the head offices of the shipping board from Washington to Philadelphia, President Wilson replied, "You can move them to Kalamazoo if by doing so you can build ships."

was signed, these activities were no longer needed. The new task was to stop the wheels of industry in their production of war materials, and turn them again to the tasks of peace; to halt the armies of labor who were working night and day to provide the soldiers with food and clothing and guns, and turn them again to peace time occupations. The problem was made more difficult by the fact that there were millions of soldiers eager to be released from the training camps or brought back from the battlefields of Europe, allowed to take off their uniforms, don civilian clothes, and get back to work. In spite of the difficulties, all this was



Among the leading American business men who gave their services to the government to "win the war" were Bernard Baruch (left), Charles Schwab (center), and John D. Ryan (right).

accomplished without serious mishap. Within a few months, the enormous demand for goods which people had done without while the war continued, sent the wheels of industry to spinning faster than ever, while prices and profits mounted higher and higher, and men came to the conclusion that we had entered on a period of unequaled good times.

Dependence of America on Europe. After a year, however, America awoke to the fact that there could be no permanent prosperity for her, while half the world lay destitute and starving. The home demand was largely supplied; and Europe could not buy what her people sorely needed. Prices were too high, and the people of the war-stricken countries had no money with

which to pay the bills. In the early summer of 1920, industry came almost to a standstill. Prices tumbled rapidly, fortunes went crumbling, failures multiplied, and thousands of workmen were out of jobs. Many believe that only the existence of the new Federal Reserve banking system saved the country from another disastrous panic.

Labor Problems. The labor problem had also taken on a new importance during this period. Just before the United States entered the war, the railroad employees had demanded a law to give them an eight-hour day and extra pay for overtime. They voted to strike if their demand was not granted, and influenced by this threat, Congress passed the Adamson Eight-Hour Law. During the war, the labor unions proved loyal to the country [1] and labored with zeal for the success of the American cause. The demand for laborers in shipyards, munition factories, and similar plants was so great that men could demand and secure very high pay. The increase in the cost of living, due to high prices, made necessary a very large increase in wages. When the business slump came in the summer of 1920, wages had reached the highest point in their history; and it was plain to everyone

THE FIRST TROOPS COME HOME

The great transatlantic liner *Maurelania* arriving at New York, December 1, 1919, with the first American troops returning from Europe. The vessel is still wearing its coat of camouflage, which had been necessary during the war to deceive German submarine commanders.

[1] A careful distinction should be made between the labor unions and the entirely different I. W. W. Some of the members of the latter organization were being paid by Germany to injure machinery, bring on strikes, and set fire to forests and grain. Many were arrested and sent to the penitentiary. Others of foreign birth were sent back to the countries from which they had come.

By the Esch-Cummins law the Interstate Commerce Commission was instructed to have plans made for consolidating the railroads of the country into about twenty systems.

that there must be a considerable reduction before American products could find a sale in other parts of the world. Such reductions would be almost certain to lead to strikes. Some of the worst of these came in the summer of 1922 when the coal miners of the country stopped work rather than accept a reduction in wages, and when many of the railroad employees followed the same course.

The Railroad Tangle. At the close of the war, the railroads of the country were left in a fearful tangle. Even before this time, they were in difficulties. Repairs had been neglected, and earnings had not been large. Under government control, the problem had become harder to solve. Wages had been greatly increased; and although the railroads did an enormous business, government operation proved to be so expensive that the income would not pay the bills. Congress was obliged to appropriate funds to meet the deficit.

The Esch-Cummins Law. After the war was over, there was a demand that the government give up its control of the railroads. Congress passed the Esch-Cummins law in 1920, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission much greater power over rates and cooperative agreements, and creating a Railroad Labor Board to settle disputes between the railroad officials and their employees. After this act was passed, the government turned the roads back to their owners. The managers soon found themselves in the same plight in which the government had been, their expenses were greater than their income. In an effort to remedy this situation, the Interstate Commerce Commission granted an increase in railroad rates, and the Railroad Labor Board lowered wages. The railroads needed to spend large sums of money for repairs and new equipment, but did not know how to get the money to do it. The railroad situation has become a serious handicap to the business of the whole country.

Need for a Better Financial System. The problem of taxation was also a serious one. The war added a tremendous debt on which the interest alone amounted to more than a billion dollars each year. In the two years of war, the expenses of the government were greater than all the previous expenses from the time

of George Washington to 1917. Two years after the war, the annual outlay was six billion dollars. How to raise this enormous sum was a trying problem. There was a general belief that there was a great deal of extravagance and waste in government business. Congress passed a law providing for a budget system. Charles G. Dawes, a successful Chicago business man, was called to Washington and given the task of stopping the waste. It took him only a few weeks to find ways of saving millions of dollars through securing greater cooperation among government departments.[1]

The Fourteen Points. After all, however, the great problem of " after the war " was the task of making a peace which should guarantee to the world the freedom for which we had fought. Before the armistice was signed, President Wilson expressed certain principles which he believed should become the basis of peace. These were accepted by the allies and by Germany. They were commonly called the " fourteen points " and were briefly as follows:

(1) No secret agreements to be made, but all covenants of peace to be open.

(2) Freedom of the seas in peace and in war to be assured.

(3) Trade barriers between nations to be removed.

(4) Armies and navies to be reduced in size.

(5) In adjusting colonial claims, the wishes of the people of the colonies to be considered.

(6) Germany to give up all the territory she had seized in Russia.

(7) Germany to give up Belgium and pay the cost of property destroyed by her.

(8) Alsace-Lorraine to be returned to France.

(9) Italy to receive from Austria the regions inhabited by Italians.

(10) The different peoples of Austria-Hungary to become independent and self-governed.

[1] It was discovered that some government departments were selling surplus supplies at one-half or one-third of their value, while other departments were buying the same supplies at full value, a condition that could not occur when there was the proper degree of cooperation.

(11) Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro to be freed from German control.

(12) Turkey to give up all territory inhabited by peoples other than Turks.

(13) Poland to become free and independent, and provided with a seaport.

(14) An association of nations to be formed to safeguard the independence of both large and small states.

President Wilson at the Peace Conference. President Wilson decided to go in person to the conference at Paris [1] which was to draft the treaty of peace. He was the first President to go abroad during his term of office, and his decision led to some criticism. In Europe he was received with enthusiasm.

The Plan for a League of Nations. There were many conflicting interests among the nations whose representatives met about the peace table. The first great question was how to prevent future wars. The plan finally adopted provided for the organization of a League of Nations. It was in a peculiar sense an American plan. Throughout most of her history, the United States has been an advocate of peaceful methods for settling disputes. For more than a hundred years, her northern boundary has been without a fort and her Great Lakes without an armed vessel, and the people of Canada and the United States do not dream of the possibility of a war on that frontier. The United States was the first nation to favor arbitration. The Treaty of Washington with Great Britain (see page 399) was the first in the history of the world in which the principle of arbitration was used in settling a really vital problem. By the same method the Venezuela boundary dispute was settled (see page 462). At the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and in 1907 (see page 494), the United States took a leading part in urging plans which would help to avoid wars and lessen their horror when they did come. When the Hague Court of Arbitration was established, the United States was the first country to bring a case before it,[2]

[1] The treaty was made in the old royal palace at Versailles, a few miles from Paris.

[2] This was a case between the United States and Mexico involving a large sum of money which was claimed by the Roman Catholic church for church

and was a party to four of the fifteen cases heard by the court before 1914. Treaties of arbitration were signed with many countries. A group of American people expressed their feelings by organizing an association [1] which persistently advocated the importance of a general agreement among nations as a means of preventing war. President Wilson, therefore, urged upon the

"The Big Four" of the Conference

Great Britain was represented at the Peace Conference by David Lloyd George, Italy by Vittorio Orlando, France by Georges Clemenceau, and the United States by Woodrow Wilson. In the great hall of the kings in the palace of Versailles, a man from a shoemaker's shop in Wales, a man from a Sicilian farm, and a man from a country doctor's home in France met with a man from an American country parsonage to settle the destinies of a very large part of the world.

other powers the adoption of the plan for a League of Nations, and they accepted it. The plan called for an assembly to which all member nations should send representatives, and a council of nine members which should include the representatives of the

property in California, seized by our government. The Court's decision was in favor of Mexico.

[1] This was the "League to Enforce Peace" of which ex-President Taft was president.

United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. Armies and navies were to be reduced; all members were to agree to arbitrate differences; and if any nation made war in spite of the League, the council was to recommend action to punish the offending nation.

Other Provisions of the Treaty. This treaty, known as the *Treaty of Versailles*, also provided that Germany should pay huge sums of money for the damage her armies had caused in France, Belgium, and elsewhere. Her army was to be reduced to 100,000 men, and her navy to six battleships and some smaller craft. Important territorial changes were provided for.[1]

American Opposition to the League of Nations. While President Wilson was in Paris, a spirited debate was taking place in the United States over the League of Nations. Practically all Americans were eager to prevent war in the future, but there were several reasons why some would not accept the proposed plan. One reason was political. During the war, President Wilson became the leading figure in America, if not in the world, and the legislative department of the government did little except carry out his policies. It was inevitable that Congress should strive to win back some of its lost power at the earliest opportunity. The unity of purpose and the devotion to ideals, which had made it possible to win the war, quickly disappeared, and in their place came a party struggle for control of the government. The Republican leaders, almost without exception,[2] declared their opposition to the League of Nations. A second reason for this opposition was the traditional American policy of avoiding entangling alliances. Men argued that the proposed League would involve us in European quarrels and cause wars instead of preventing them.

The Peace Treaty Rejected by the Senate. The peace treaty was accepted by Germany, and approved by all the other nations concerned. The United States Senate refused to give its approval.

[1] Germany gave up her claims to all her colonies, Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France, Austria-Hungary was broken up, and new states such as Poland and Czecho-Slovakia became independent nations.

[2] Ex-President Taft was the principal exception.

The feeling between Congress and the President became very bitter. President Wilson decided to appeal to the country and set out on a long speech-making tour in September, 1919. Before the end of his trip he was stricken with apoplexy and was not able to give much attention to the work of his office during the remainder of his term.

The Republican leaders in the Senate urged several amendments to the treaty, which President Wilson opposed, saying that they were "a knife thrust at the heart of the covenant." Enough Senators voted against the amended treaty to defeat it.

Election of 1920. In November, 1920, a new President was to be elected. James M. Cox of Ohio was the Democratic candidate, while Warren G. Harding, a conservative Ohio Senator, was the nominee of the Republicans. President Wilson considered that the election would be a "solemn referendum" on the subject of the League of Nations. In this he was badly mistaken. He believed that the people who wanted the United States to take its part in the formation of the League would vote for Cox, whose platform, *among many other things*, favored it. Under our American system of holding elections, a referendum on any national issue is a practical impossibility. There are too many other things which affect the result. For one thing there are millions of voters who will vote with their party without any regard to what the issues may be. The personalities

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING, 1865–1923

Warren G. Harding was born on an Ohio farm, educated in a village school, attended a small college, and during his school days worked in a printing office, and on his college paper. After graduating he became a reporter, and eventually the owner and editor of *The Marion Daily Star*, of Marion, Ohio.

He was elected to the state Senate in 1899, and fifteen years later to the national Senate. In 1920 he was elected President of the United States.

of the opposing candidates, and questions of whether business is prosperous and taxes burdensome, always influence many others.

The election of 1920 proved no exception to this rule. The League of Nations issue was not seriously considered by the majority of voters; and those who did feel it to be an important question were often confused by other issues. There was never much doubt as to the result. The country was filled with dissatisfaction. Taxes were higher than ever before in our history and seemed to be unnecessarily burdensome; business had been interfered with by the fuel administration, the food administration, and other government agencies during the war; and President Wilson had become unpopular because he seemed unwilling to make compromises. All these criticisms of the government

(*From the Chicago Tribune*)

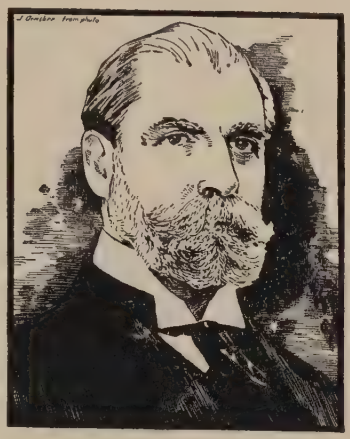
"Keeping up" in the game of constructing new battleships cost the leading nations enormous sums.

made Republican votes. Furthermore, business was bad, thousands of men were out of work, prices of farm products had dropped to ruinous figures; and the Democrats were blamed for these conditions. Warren G. Harding was elected by the largest majority any Republican President has ever received. Even some of the Southern states which had always been Democratic since Reconstruction days went Republican.

Separate Peace Treaties. Soon after his inauguration, the new President called Congress in special session. A resolution declaring the war to be over was passed and received his approval.[1] In August, 1921, a separate treaty of peace was signed with Germany and another with Austria.

[1] A similar measure passed by Congress in the spring of 1920 had been vetoed by President Wilson.

The Washington Conference Called. The most important action of the new President was the calling of a conference of the leading powers of the world which met in Washington in November, 1921, to discuss disarmament. It was high time. The tremendous cost of keeping up great armies and navies, added to the fearful burden of paying for the war, made taxes in all the civilized countries so high that there seemed to be no likelihood of a return to prosperity unless the burden could be lightened.



CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, 1862–

As a practicing lawyer, as a professor of law, and as governor of the state of New York, Charles Evans Hughes made a splendid reputation for himself because of his devotion to public service. He was appointed an Associate Justice of the federal Supreme Court in 1910, but resigned to accept the Republican nomination to the presidency in the election of 1916, in which he was defeated. He was appointed Secretary of State in the Harding administration, and in this capacity took the lead at the Washington Conference.

An Agreement to Limit the Size of Navies. When the representatives of the principal nations gathered in Washington, the keynote of the conference was set by President Harding in his opening address, "Gentlemen of the Conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands . . . Content with what we have, we seek nothing that is another's. We only want to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone." Charles E. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, then startled his hearers by a definite proposal that the nations agree to limit the size of their navies and stop building expensive battleships for a period of ten years. After some discussion, this plan was accepted. According to the treaty which was made, the navies of the United States and of Great Britain will be of equal size, while that of Japan will be three-fifths as large, and those

of France and Italy about one-third as large as that of the United States.

Settlement of Pacific Problems. Before this agreement to limit the size of navies could become really effective, it was necessary that some settlement should be reached regarding the future of the Pacific (see page 494). Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States were all interested in that problem. These four nations signed a treaty agreeing to respect each other's rights "in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean." They further agreed not to fortify the islands, and to hold another conference if disputes should arise in the future. As a result of the Washington conference, the relations between Japan and the United States have become much more friendly, and the prospects for permanent peace in the Pacific are much brighter.[1]

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Formerly a hotel, but now the official property of the League of Nations.

The World Court. President Harding faced other perplexing problems. One was the question of the part the United States should take in world cooperation to preserve peace. The President declared himself to be in favor of this nation's taking a full share in the establishment of a permanent World Court which should have the right to settle matters of international law.

The Fordney Tariff. There were also financial problems of first importance. The Congress wrangled for months over a new tariff. The result was a high protective tariff, in most respects like the bills which usually result from the see-saw of

[1] The control of the island of Yap aroused a bitter newspaper controversy in 1921. The island, once German-owned, now a Japanese possession, is of no importance except as a relay station for important cable lines between the United States and the Far East. Our government demanded that these cable lines should be placed under international control. At the Washington conference the Yap controversy was settled, by allowing Japan to keep the island while the cable lines were internationalized.

tariff legislation (see page 422). A new feature was a so-called elastic clause giving the President authority, under certain conditions, to lower the rates. The same Congress passed a bill to pay a bonus to the four million men who had seen military service during the World War. Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, opposed the measure because it carried no provision for levying the necessary taxes. President Harding accepted Secretary Mellon's view, and vetoed the bill.

The Alaskan Trip. Still another question was the result of the rapid development of Alaska, and of the effects of the government conservation policy there. President Harding determined to visit this northern territorial possession of the United States, and see for himself what conditions were.

Calvin Coolidge

His journey across the continent and through Alaska was a continual personal triumph. The whole country seemed united in showing its appreciation for this man of the people, whom the people had chosen for their leader. The never-ending entertainment proved a tremendous strain on President Harding. On the return trip, while in San Francisco, he became very ill. On August 2, 1923, the news of his death flashed by radio, telephone, telegraph, and cable to a saddened people everywhere.

President Coolidge. It came to the Atlantic coast, and to an unpretentious Vermont farmhouse, where Vice-President Coolidge was visiting his aged father. At day-dawn of August 3, that father, who happened to be a notary public, administered the oath of office to his son which made that son the President of the United States. Calvin Coolidge took up the burden of responsibility which Warren G. Harding had lain down.

President Coolidge had served as state representative and sena-

tor and as governor of Massachusetts before becoming Vice-President of the United States. He had shared in the cabinet discussions of the Harding administration, and therefore had a clear understanding of the national problems. Under his capable direction the government machinery did not pause. He retained all the members of President Harding's Cabinet, and followed his predecessor in urging that the United States become a member of the World Court of International Justice.

The Growth of the United States. In less than a century and a half the United States has grown from a weak and thinly populated fringe of states along the Atlantic coast into an enormously rich country with a population greater than that of any other nation except the British Empire, China, or Russia. Its Constitution, established in the troublous days following the Revolutionary War, has weathered serious storms. It has been amended from time to time to make possible a fuller share of all its people in the work of the government. No one can assert that it could not be still further improved. At the same time, it is doubtful whether in any other country " human beings have ever attained so high a degree of material well-being, political and intellectual liberty, and general happiness," as that won for themselves by the people of the United States.

Looking Forward. The sea which lies before us will not be all easy sailing. The way is not fully charted, and there are numerous rocks in the channel; but the ship whose helm George Washington once grasped has lived through many a storm and steered clear of many a dangerous obstacle. We shall do well to cling to everything that is good in that Constitution which is our chart of freedom. It is the priceless heritage of all the ages, reaching back to the day when King John of England granted the Great Charter to his subjects, and forward to that future day when freedom's flag shall float over all the earth, and the nations of the world shall be able to come together of their own free will, in a union that shall make war impossible, and bring peace, prosperity, and happiness to all mankind.

BIOGRAPHY

LA SALLE
1643–1687

THE greatest achievement of the French explorers of North America was the result of the courage, persistence, and energy of Robert Cavelier de La Salle. He was of Norman ancestry, born at Rouen, France, probably in 1643. An excellent education, especially in mathematics, was the result of several years in a Jesuit school. At the age of twenty-three he parted from the Jesuits and joined an elder brother in Canada.

He soon established a fur-trading post on the St. Lawrence river, eight or nine miles above Montreal. Like all the explorers who followed the fleur-de-lis (the flag of France) La Salle dreamed of a passage across America to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), and a new road to the commerce and riches of China and Japan. The Indians who came to his little trading post told him of a river so great that a journey of eight or nine months would scarcely reach its mouth. La Salle's imagination was fired. The restless strain in his Norman blood was quickened. This great river, he decided, must flow into the Vermilion Sea (the Gulf of California) and would thus furnish the long-sought passage to China. Selling all his property, he bought four canoes, and with fourteen men set out to find the great river. This was in 1669. The record of his journey is lost, but probably he discovered the Ohio river and journeyed down it for some distance. Apparently his followers deserted him and he was forced to turn back, his great prize unfound. His money had all been spent, and for nine years he was unable to make another trial.

In 1678, having in the meantime made a small fortune in fur trading, he journeyed to Paris, where the king authorized him to undertake "to discover the western part of New France, through which it is probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico." La Salle now hurried back to America, and proceeded to the Niagara river above the falls, where a sailing vessel, the largest yet seen on the lakes, was built and launched. In this ship, *The Griffin*, he sailed across Lake Erie, up the Detroit river, and across Lake Huron to the straits of Mackinac, and

then on to Green Bay on Lake Michigan. By this time the ship was heavily loaded with furs and La Salle ordered it to return to the settlements with the valuable cargo. Meanwhile he pushed forward with a few companions in four bark canoes "loaded with . . . tools, arrows, and merchandise." They lived on Indian corn and the flesh of deer, buffalo, and wild turkeys which they hunted in the forests. Southward along the shore of Lake Michigan, across to the Illinois river, and down that river to the present site of Peoria, La Salle journeyed. Here again he was forced to give up his cherished plan. Hostile Indians and unfaithful followers made it necessary to turn back when the great Mississippi was almost within sight. The return trip across country through the wilderness to the Detroit river and thence by canoe to Montreal was accomplished in three months, only to learn that *The Griffin* with its valuable cargo of furs had been lost.

By December, after many discouragements and difficulties, La Salle was back in Illinois, where he found that those he had left to guard his supplies had all disappeared. "Any one else," wrote one who was with him, "would have thrown up his hands and abandoned the enterprise; but far from this, with a firmness and constancy that never had its equal, I saw him more resolved than ever to continue his work and push forward his discovery."

After yet another trip to Canada for supplies, La Salle was ready for the momentous voyage down the Mississippi river. On February 6 the great river was reached and early in April, 1682, he and his followers came to the spot where the "Father of Waters" empties into the Gulf of Mexico. Here they set up a standard and took possession of the river and all the land drained by it in the name of the king of France. La Salle now proceeded to Quebec, where he took a ship for France to lay before the king his project for establishing colonies in all this vast new territory of Louisiana, thus securing the richest part of America for France.

La Salle himself attempted to lead a colony to the mouth of the Mississippi. The expedition lost its way and landed in Texas instead of Louisiana. While attempting to reach the Mississippi overland, La Salle was treacherously killed by one of his own followers.

To La Salle more than to anyone else France owed her early hold on the interior of America. He had a clear vision of what the great plains and valleys of the Middle West would some day be worth; and he dreamed of a great empire which France should establish in the Mississippi valley.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
1706–1790

Few Americans have served their country in so many ways, over so long a period, and in so effective a manner as has Benjamin Franklin. He won a deserved fame as author, inventor, philosopher, statesman, diplomat, and patriot.

Franklin was the fifteenth child born in the family of a prosperous Boston tallow-chandler. Because the father wanted the boy to be a minister, Benjamin was allowed to stay in school until he reached the mature age of ten. By this time Franklin had decided that he did not want to be a minister, so in that pioneer community he had to go to work. Eventually he was apprenticed to an older brother to learn the printer's trade. By the time seven of the nine years of the apprenticeship period had passed, Benjamin was sure he knew enough of the trade, and was equally sure that he and his brother could not agree, so he ran away to Philadelphia to seek his fortune.

Good printers were scarce in those days, and the young craftsman made such an impression on the Quaker city that even the governor wished to see the boy established in business for himself. Relying on the governor's promises, Franklin made a journey to London to get the equipment for his enterprise, but the promises were not kept and all the would-be-business man had for his pains was disappointment and experience.

On his return to Philadelphia, Franklin went to work as a journeyman printer, saved his money, and was able to set himself up in business by the time he was twenty-four. Then he began the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac," a journal of such wit and wisdom and wholesome good sense that it had a considerable effect on the formation of the habits of thought of our colonial ancestors. He also published a newspaper so unlike its contemporaries that it became the most popular one in the province.

Franklin's experiments with electricity commanded the attention of people in Europe as well as in America, and his invention of the first open stove, made for the greater comfort and happiness of people everywhere. He reorganized the post office system for his colony, founded the first hospital, and was instrumental in establishing the academy that later became the University of Pennsylvania. He established the first fire department in Philadelphia, and attempted, though unsuccessfully, to reorganize the night watch, or police department.

When in 1757 the colony of Pennsylvania got into serious difficulties with its Lords Proprietors, the sons of William Penn, over the question of the Assembly's right to tax the untilled lands of these same selfish proprietors, it was decided to send a representative to the king to plead the cause of the colonists. The one American of those days whose reputation had reached the shores of the mother country was Benjamin Franklin, so naturally enough he was chosen as the colonial agent.

This began Franklin's services abroad. In England, and later in France, Franklin was received with courtesy and respect because of his accomplishments in philosophy and in science. He made admirers and friends through his gracious manner, his simple directness in dealing with people, and his wonderful understanding of his country and its cause.

During the Revolution, Franklin was the American representative in France. As such, he directed the activity of the privateers that were so successful in making the British merchants willing to end the war; borrowed money for the Revolutionary government without which the struggle could not have been carried on; sent Lafayette to Washington's aid; and kept the sympathy of the French court and the French people on the American side. Until the treaty of peace was signed, he was the mainstay of the Revolutionary cause abroad, and the value of his services can scarcely be estimated.

At the close of the war, pleading his extreme age as an excuse, Franklin asked to be relieved of his appointment. Thomas Jefferson was sent over as the official minister to France. It is said that when asked if he was the American who was to take Franklin's place, Jefferson would always reply, "No one can replace him, sir. I am only his successor."

Franklin was eighty-two years old when the Constitutional Convention was held, but even so his country could not spare him. As the "sage of the Convention" he gave his wisdom and strength as willingly as ever, and when the session ended was happy that the "sun of my country" (taking the suggestion from a picture painted back of the president's chair) "was a rising, not a setting sun." No man had given himself more unsparingly and effectively to make that dawning day one of splendor for America, than he who signed so many of his country's great documents, "B. Franklin."

GEORGE WASHINGTON
1732–1799

George Washington was a real boy, and grew up much as did other Virginia boys two hundred years ago. Cities and villages did not exist in the part of Virginia about Bridges Creek and Mount Vernon where his boyhood was spent. Like other people of the neighborhood, the Washington family lived on a large tobacco plantation, where most of the work was done by slaves. There were no public schools; George learned to read and write from the parish sexton, a man named Hobby. His older brothers had been sent to England to school, but when George was eleven his father died and George went to live with his older brother, Lawrence, where he had an excellent tutor named Williams. One of George Washington's old school books with his name on the fly-leaf, and some of his copy books with such rude pictures as schoolboys often make, mixed in with problems and school exercises, may still be seen at Mount Vernon.

George was tall, somewhat over six feet, and had unusually long arms. He was a very active boy, fond of outdoor games, able to outwalk or outrun the other boys, and very fond of horses and of fox hunting.

At the age of fourteen he planned to become a sailor and his uncle secured him a job on one of the tobacco boats sailing to England. His mother objected, however, and so George went back to his studies and took up surveying.

The next year, Lord Fairfax, an English nobleman, with no money but with an excellent college education, came to that part of Virginia to look after the great areas of American wilderness which belonged to his family. He and George Washington became fast friends and spent many a happy day together fox hunting. When George was sixteen, this friend sent him to survey the Fairfax estate located far back in the wilderness. It was a difficult and lonely task, but so well done that this friend got George Washington appointed as public surveyor. Through Lord Fairfax he also became acquainted with books, and read much during his many visits to the Fairfax home.

Three wars with France had already been fought, and Lawrence Washington believed that another was inevitable. He advised his younger brother to learn all he could about soldiering, and in 1749 brought to Mount Vernon two former friends, who taught George all they knew of the art of war. At the age of nineteen, he was

named a major in the volunteer forces of Virginia. The same year Lawrence Washington died and left the estate at Mount Vernon to his brother.

So George Washington became a wealthy plantation farmer, raising many acres of tobacco with the aid of negro slaves. But the war with France was coming on apace. Soon Governor Dinwiddie needed a messenger to send to the French forts in the Ohio valley. The first messenger became frightened and turned back before he completed his errand. The governor then asked Major Washington to undertake the journey of three hundred miles through the wilderness. Fortunate for him that he was big and strong, and that his experience in surveying the Fairfax estate had taught him how to live in the forest. The young messenger had a fearful journey, opposed by treacherous Indians and wily Frenchmen. Only his clear sense and stern determination enabled him to reach his destination, deliver his warning message, and get safely back to Virginia.

His first experience at the head of an army was in 1754 when he was sent to reenforce the men from Virginia who were building a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. The French had arrived ahead of him and had captured this fort and named it Fort Duquesne. Washington rather unwisely undertook to build another fort at a near-by place which had few natural advantages. Here, in the fighting with the French, he showed a reckless courage but no particular ability. He was not a natural born general, but learned the art of war by practice and observation. Perhaps the best cure for his recklessness and early obstinacy was his experience with Braddock in 1755, where he had an opportunity to see how these very qualities caused the ruin of Braddock and his army. In that battle Major Washington had two horses shot under him and four bullet holes through his clothes. While he had been reckless enough in the battle, he showed unusual prudence and was cool and collected on the retreat. Plainly he was learning.

George Washington did not marry until he was twenty-seven, and then chose Mrs. Martha Custis, a young widow with two small children. To these children Washington became a second father, sending to England to buy them Christmas gifts, and looking after their welfare. From this time until 1774 he devoted most of his time to the management of his thousands of acres of farm land, developing an extra quality of wheat and undertaking to work out a plan of crop rotation to check the rapid exhaustion of Virginia soil. He served a term in the Virginia

House of Burgesses, as his grandfather had done before him, and was elected a delegate to both Continental Congresses.

When the Congress needed a commander-in-chief for the continental army at Boston it turned naturally enough to this big, strong, broad-shouldered Virginian who had shown his ability so decidedly in the French and Indian War, and whose honesty, courage, and good sense were everywhere acknowledged.

Similarly in 1789, when the time came to choose the first President of the United States, George Washington was the unanimous choice of the electors. He served two terms, and his modest courage, his extraordinary common sense, his ability as leader in peace as well as in war, won the admiration and love of hosts of Americans. When he died in 1799, when his clear blue eyes were forever closed, the whole nation mourned for the man who had done so much for *his* country, which is now *our* country.

THOMAS JEFFERSON
1743–1826

Thomas Jefferson was the son of a very well-to-do Virginia farmer whose large estate was in the district spoken of as "above the tide water." Until Jefferson was seventeen he never saw a town. At that time he entered William and Mary College at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. He claims to have studied fifteen hours a day, not only in college but also as a clerk in the law office of George Wythe.[1] He became a successful lawyer, though not for long, for the attraction of politics became too powerful; and opportunity offering, he entered the Virginia House of Burgesses, a colleague of George Washington and Patrick Henry. During his service in that body he brought about such changes in the narrow and often cruel and worn-out laws of Virginia that her law code became the most liberal and just of its time.

In 1775 Jefferson was sent to Philadelphia as one of Virginia's representatives in the Second Continental Congress. He was a tall, well-built, freckled-faced, red-headed young man, whom people respected thoroughly for his patriotism and knowledge, as well as for a wonderful ability to write. He took very little part in the debates of Congress,

[1] This same George Wythe on other occasions had other boys as students in his office, among them John Jay, Henry Clay, and John Marshall.

for Thomas Jefferson never could make a speech, but when the decisions of the body were to be put on paper, the youthful Virginian was very likely to be entrusted with the task. So it came about that he was asked to draft a statement announcing the severing of all relations between the colonies and England. The Declaration of Independence was the result, and Jefferson's greatest fame is due to his authorship of that document.

Jefferson succeeded Franklin as our representative to France, and was in that country in the early part of the French Revolution. He agreed thoroughly with the Revolutionary ideas of liberty and brotherhood, and came to love the French people themselves, a fact which was to have a decided bearing on the relationship of the two countries.

It was while Jefferson was absent on this French mission that our Constitution was adopted. He did not like it and sent letters of criticism to many friends at home. He felt that the new form of government took away too much of the authority of the states, and gave too much power to the national government.

Afterwards, as Washington's Secretary of State, Jefferson watched with dismay Hamilton's efforts to make the power of the central government even stronger. He became the leader of the opposition party, at first known as the Anti-Federalist, but finally the Republican party. The great majority of the people of this party were of the poorer classes, living in the remote districts. The forming of such groups into a political party of any power seemed an almost impossible task, yet Jefferson did it. He was successful because he understood and trusted the common people, and in return they loved and trusted him.

Jefferson lacked only four votes of being elected President at the close of Washington's administration. This made him Vice-President, a position for which he had no desire.

Four years later he won the Presidency by a narrow margin, and gained an enormous popularity even though he used the implied powers of the Constitution more than any Federalist had ever done. He was triumphantly reelected; and though his foreign policy brought disaster at home and gained nothing abroad, the popular admiration was such that he was urged to accept the nomination for a third term. This Jefferson had the good sense to refuse.

He returned to his beautiful Virginia estate, Monticello, and spent the remainder of his long life in the encouragement of science and education for the greater help of his fellow countrymen. The University of Virginia was established as a result of his untiring efforts.

Jefferson's own valuation of his many services to his fellow men is reflected in the epithet written by himself, which is inscribed on a shaft above his grave:

HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON
AUTHOR
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA
FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND
FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

ALEXANDER HAMILTON
1757–1804

Tory New York was electrified, one July day in 1774, when a slender youth, with flashing eyes and keen aquiline face, edged his way to the platform at a big patriotic rally, and made such a compelling speech on the rights of the colonists that the audience was held spellbound.

Interested folks found out that the young patriot was Alexander Hamilton, a student at Kings College. Although born in the West Indies, and the son of the poor widow of a Scotch trader, his brilliancy had attracted the attention of wealthy friends who became interested in helping him get an education.

Hamilton enlisted at the beginning of the Revolution and served with such efficiency that he became one of Washington's aids. His work was generally that of a private secretary, and so well was it done that he won Washington's lasting friendship. He was particularly helpful in dealing with the French, whose language he understood, and whose character he appreciated. He and Lafayette became lifelong friends.

Even during the Revolution Hamilton's great idea of the necessity for a strong central government began to take shape. It became the supreme ideal of his life. It made him one of the leaders in the Annapolis convention, in the Constitutional Convention, and in the struggle for the adoption of the Constitution.

His appointment as Secretary of the Treasury gave him the opportunity to realize his ideal. Upon his department, more than any other, the success of the new nation depended. Every move Hamilton made was planned to insure that success.

He managed his financial plans through a series of reports to Congress. These were so powerfully reasoned and so clearly stated that they remain models of financial writing to this day. In addition to these he was constantly writing pamphlets, letters, and papers in support of the central government, and these masterly efforts had much to do with its early success. His writings in defense of the establishment of the National Bank may be said to be the first political platform in our history. They made him the acknowledged leader of the Federalist party. However, Hamilton was a leader of the leaders. He never won the love of the common people. They believed him to be aristocratic and pro-British.

The mean-minded and cheap politicians especially hated him. One of these was a fellow New Yorker by the name of Aaron Burr, afterwards tried for treason. Again and again Hamilton thwarted Burr's schemes for political preferment until the man was insane with hatred. He finally challenged Hamilton to a duel, and the latter, unfortunately, felt it necessary to accept the challenge lest some taint of fear might in the future make him unfit to serve his country. However, he would not kill his opponent, preferring to fire in the air. Burr had no such scruples. His shot was fatal and his victim lived only a few hours.

That duel cut short a marvelous career. As lawyer, writer, statesman, and patriot, Hamilton's reputation was securely established even in his own time. The passing years have added to that fame. Thinkers realize that a large part of the prosperity of our great nation has been due to the clear reasoning and devoted service of the great man who was the first Secretary of the Treasury.

JOHN MARSHALL
1755–1835

Of the three great departments of our government, the Federal Courts were the last to find their place and make themselves felt. There had never been in all the world a judicial body just like the Supreme Court of the United States; and in its twelve years of existence before 1801 that court had not made its purpose and functions clear. It was John Marshall who made the Supreme Court what it is today, — the most respected and highly honored judicial body in America.

John Marshall spent his boyhood among the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia, where, he tells us, they were so poor that his mother and sisters used thorns for buttons, and hot mush flavored

with balm leaf was a luxury. Together with his father, Col. Thomas Marshall, and two younger brothers, John Marshall served through a greater part of the Revolutionary War, enduring the hardships of Valley Forge with good-tempered patience, and taking part in numerous battles. He had already begun the study of law, and after leaving the army he attended a course of lectures by Chancellor George Wythe, a teacher who had a hand in shaping the lives of many prominent Virginians.

Marshall soon became a famous lawyer and an outspoken Federalist. As such he was elected to the state convention which decided whether Virginia would ratify the new Federal Constitution in 1788. Marshall's clear, convincing arguments in favor of a strong central government with power to levy taxes, power to call out the militia, and power to enforce the laws through its own courts, did much to counterbalance anything which Patrick Henry could say on the other side.

Marshall continued to practice law in Richmond, while serving several terms in the state legislature of Virginia. And then in 1797 President Adams sent him as one of three commissioners to try to straighten out the difficulties with France. In Paris the clever agents of Talleyrand, one of the wiliest of European diplomats, were never able to befuddle Marshall. His conduct of this trying government mission was highly satisfactory to President Adams. Marshall had declined cabinet positions and other important appointments offered him by Washington and Adams, but when the latter asked him to become Secretary of State in May, 1800, he accepted.

At this time the Supreme Court was needing a pilot. The Chief Justice had resigned, and other men were doubtful if the Federal Courts could ever win the respect they deserved. In January, 1801, Adams, without consulting him, named John Marshall as the new Chief Justice. It was a testing time for him and for the Federal Court. A headstrong pilot might have dashed his craft on the rocks; a timid one would have abandoned his course; but Marshall did neither.

His decisions soon made it plain that the Constitution was *the supreme law of the land*, and the Supreme Court could and would declare unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, acts of Congress or of state legislatures which were in conflict with that Constitution. At the same time he interpreted that document liberally, deciding among other important questions that a National Bank was a reasonable and constitutional means for exercising the powers granted to the Congress to borrow money, levy and collect taxes, and regulate the currency.

President Jefferson fumed and stormed at the authority assumed by

the Supreme Court, even threatening to have Marshall impeached, but to no effect. Marshall fought with the weapons of the intellect; and so keen were his judgments, and so convincing his arguments that his thirty-four years as Chief Justice of the United States won for him a place among the greatest of jurists, and for the Supreme Court a unique position among the courts of the world.

ELI WHITNEY
1765–1825

The Whitney family of Westboro, Massachusetts, were farmers, the kind who love the soil and fail to understand any one who finds other things more interesting. When the third son, Eli, preferred tinkering with such crude machinery as the times afforded, and spent his leisure in making a fiddle, not for the sake of the music, but because he loved to make things, the father shook his head despondently over this child he was sure would be a failure in life.

During his boyhood, Eli became very popular in the neighborhood because of his ability as a repair man. A more profitable venture was the manufacture of nails, the supply of which had been cut off by the Revolution. When profits from these decreased, Whitney invented a hatpin which appealed to the women of the time, and added substantially to the family income.

But Whitney was a clear thinker and he knew that if he was to get the most out of life he must have a college education. Against his father's wishes, he entered Yale, and by teaching and working at all sorts of odd jobs succeeded in supporting himself and paying his way through college.

After graduation he accepted a position as tutor in a wealthy Savannah family and used his last available capital to reach that city. But the eager young teacher met a keen disappointment on his arrival. His employer had found someone else for the place, and Whitney found himself a homeless stranger in a strange land. A chance acquaintance, Mrs. Greene, the widow of the Revolutionary hero, invited Mr. Whitney into her home, and he showed his gratitude by using his inventive genius in making improvements about her plantation.

She admired and appreciated the young man, and one day when a group of friends were speaking regretfully of the uselessness of cotton production because of the labor of separating the seeds from the fibre,

she said, "Ask Mr. Whitney to find an easy way to do it. He can do anything."

At this time he had never seen raw cotton, but he at once became interested, and in the room set aside for his experiment he went earnestly to work. News of his attempt spread somehow, and when the first crude machine was finished, wicked people broke into the workshop and stole it.

It is not too much to say that Whitney by this invention made a new South. One man with a cotton gin could do the work of a hundred men without one. Cotton, always serviceable and desirable, now became cheap, and rapidly took its place as the leading clothing material of the world.

It is shameful that the man whose genius brought this about should have had so little profit from it. With his first model in the hands of unscrupulous people, his patents were constantly infringed upon, and although North and South Carolina and Tennessee made state provisions for rewarding the inventor, he received only a very small part of the total worth of his service to mankind.

There was a splendid perseverance in Whitney's character that would not let him yield to discouragement. Giving up all idea of making anything out of his great invention, he entered into a contract with the United States Government for the manufacture of arms, and in the plant he built introduced so many new and splendid features that it became the model for English as well as American factories.

Eli Whitney never allowed the unjust treatment he received to make him bitter. Northern manufacturers and Southern shippers, as well as planters, were his debtors, yet the Federal Congress would not even extend the time on his patent. Nevertheless he built up a comfortable fortune with his other enterprises, and when at sixty he died he was held in the highest esteem by all who knew him, not only for the patience and dignity with which he had met his trials and the real services he had given his age, but because he was himself in all ways a scholarly, cultured gentleman.

JAMES MADISON
1751–1839

During a period of more than forty years, a sober, serious little man with a pale student's face and bright hazel eyes had an active share in helping to steer the newly-launched Ship of State over the difficult seas of self-government. This was James Madison, "Father of the Constitution," and fourth President of the United States.

From his father's great plantation in Orange County, Virginia, Madison went to Princeton, where he graduated in 1771. He seems never to have been a boy, but was always serious and thoughtful. He came home from college in poor health, the result of over-study, and fully convinced that he was about to die.

Stirring events were taking place in the country, however, and young James Madison soon found himself in the midst of them. At the first news of the battle of Lexington and Concord he tried to enlist in the Revolutionary army. His small size (he was only five feet six inches tall, and very slender) and his poor health totally unfitted him to be a soldier, but there were other services which he could render.

In 1776, Madison was chosen a member of the Virginia convention, where one of his first duties was to vote for a resolution urging the Virginia members of the Second Continental Congress "to propose to that respectable body to declare the united colonies free and independent states." Then he was chosen a member of the committee to draft a new constitution for the state of Virginia. Although he was one of the youngest members of the convention, he was known as a careful, painstaking student, who also used good judgment.

A few years later, as a member of the Confederation Congress, he had a first-hand opportunity to discover the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation. He was soon convinced that a new constitution was needed if the young republic was to survive. He sent to his friend, Thomas Jefferson, then in Paris, for books, and with characteristic thoroughness began to study the governments of other countries, ancient and modern, to get ideas.

Consequently, when the Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia in 1787, Madison, who was a delegate from Virginia, was the best informed man in the group. Before the Convention met, he prepared an outline for a new constitution which became the basis of the "Virginia plan." All through the task of making the Constitution, Madison's store of information proved valuable, and his share in the result is probably greater than that of any other man.

When the new Constitution was finished, Madison bent all his efforts to get it ratified. He was influential in getting the Confederation Congress to send it to the states for approval; he wrote powerful arguments in "The Federalist"; he argued day after day in the Virginia convention; and finally had the satisfaction of seeing the new Constitution accepted.

Madison became a member of the first Congress of the United States.

His friendship for Jefferson increased. They were neighbors on Maiden Lane in New York; they spent a three weeks' vacation together in New England; and when the Congress moved to Philadelphia, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were roommates. It is little wonder under these circumstances that he should have followed Jefferson when the latter decided to oppose Hamilton and his policies. Thereupon, Madison became the second most prominent leader of the Republican party, and served Jefferson faithfully for eight years as Secretary of State.

Madison did not marry until he was forty-three. Then he persuaded Aaron Burr to introduce him to a pretty Quakeress who in 1794 became Mrs. Dolly Madison. She loved gaiety, and as mistress of the White House made it the center of the social life of Washington.

Madison's election to the presidency in 1809 was a well deserved honor, although it added little to his reputation. He was a man of peace, his heart was never in the war which was forced upon the country during his administration, and he made a very poor war President.

Few monuments have been erected to Madison. He was not a man who made many friends, and he was never very popular. But the Constitution which he had so large a share in making is a monument more enduring than brass or marble.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
1767–1848

The old saying that a man is never great until he is dead might well have been coined for John Quincy Adams. Certainly no man has ever served his country more truly, and few men have ever been so little appreciated during their lifetime.

As a child of eight, he saw his father, John Adams, ride away to the dangerous and unappreciated work of the Second Continental Congress, leaving him as the "man" of the family in the little home at Braintree, not far enough away for comfort from British-occupied Boston. From a near-by hill he saw the smoke and heard the thunder of the battle of Bunker Hill and saw in the burning village of Charlestown an example of how the British treated the colonial "traitors." Two years later he was post-rider for his town, and brought from Boston the news of Washington and "our armies."

There was little time for regular education in those stirring days, but the boy was taught by his mother, and whenever it could be managed,

by his father. In addition he was exposed to the kind of events that teach people more than books.

When John Quincy Adams was eleven, his father was sent to Paris to represent the struggling young nation, and he decided to take his son with him. The journey was a long and dangerous one. The boy was thrown with older men, who were themselves saddened with their heavy responsibilities. It wasn't much wonder that he grew old before most boys do. When not quite fourteen, he and the men about him seemed to see nothing unusual in his appointment as one of the secretaries to the Peace Commission to make the treaty which ended the Revolution.

It is strange that such experiences did not make the lad self-satisfied, but they evidently did not, for he decided that a college education was necessary to success, and refusing an appointment as secretary to his father, who was the newly appointed Minister to Great Britain, he left the glitter of European cities behind him and came home to enter Harvard as a student.

After graduating, he served under Washington as our Minister at the Hague, and under his own father as our Minister to Prussia. When the election of Jefferson retired the Federalists from power, John Quincy Adams retired to private life.

He did not enjoy that quiet experience very long. The Massachusetts Federalists elected him United States Senator in 1803, and Adams went to Washington as the representative of that party. He was never a good party man, however, for his uncompromising honesty made him decide every question on a basis of right and wrong, regardless of party support.

From the very beginning of his public life, Adams kept a diary. In its pages he described the public men of his day so bitterly, though perhaps honestly, that we cannot wonder so few people loved him.

John Quincy Adams was one of the commissioners who made the treaty of Ghent. Its terms were a proof of the diplomatic skill of the men who made it, a triumph for which Adams deserves a large share of the credit.

As Secretary of State under Monroe, Adams reached the highest success of his life. To his efforts were due the Florida Purchase treaty and the announcement of the "Monroe" doctrine.

It had become the custom by that time to nominate the Secretary of State for the presidency of the succeeding administration. Adams wanted the honor very much, but in accordance with his belief that the "office should seek the man," he would do nothing to try to get it. Other

candidates were not so modest, and it was only by Clay's support that Adams won the deserved honor, a support for which he paid dearly. His four years as President were shadowed by the "corrupt bargain" charge, and he was able to accomplish very little.

After his term as President the Massachusetts district in which he lived sent him again and again as its representative to Congress.

The great event of this part of his life was his fight against the extension of slavery. The "gag" rule, an attempt to bar anti-slavery petitions from Congress, was, he believed, an infamous attempt to deprive people of their constitutional rights. After years of struggle, at first almost single-handed, he succeeded in having it suspended.

The men of his own day often bitterly hated and cruelly misunderstood John Quincy Adams. History, however, is giving him something of the honor and credit that is his due. He was a real patriot, he gave his country real service, and in spite of the harshness of his judgments, he was moved in everything that he did by his own supreme sense of honesty.

ANDREW JACKSON
1767–1845

THERE is a great difference between being a poorly educated man in a highly educated community, and being a poorly educated man in an ignorant community. Andrew Jackson could neither write correctly nor speak grammatically, yet that did not count against him in the frontier society of which he was a representative. The pioneers of his time were accustomed to measure men by a different standard.

Jackson's parents were poor Scotch-Irish immigrants who settled in the cheap western lands of the Carolinas. The father died a few days before Andrew's birth, leaving the mother to support the family, a very difficult task for a woman on the frontier. During the Revolution she volunteered as a nurse and died from exposure; her two older sons lost their lives, and Andrew, then thirteen, took part in one battle and was later made a prisoner. During his captivity he was severely wounded for refusing to black the boots of a British officer. The scar of that wound and the feeling of hatred that resulted, he carried throughout his whole life.

At fourteen Andrew Jackson was alone in the world, with only a smattering of an education, and with his living to earn. He tried various

callings, but decided finally in favor of the law. He joined a class of law students in Salisbury, North Carolina, and in 1787 was given a license to practice in that state.

The young lawyer was fairly successful. He made up in common sense what he lacked in legal knowledge, and was so determined and fearless in presenting his cases that he was made county prosecutor for the district of West Tennessee. Later, he was elected judge. At one time when the sheriff could not capture a lawbreaker even with the help of a posse, Judge Andrew Jackson allowed himself to be sworn in as a deputy and then effected the capture single-handed.

It might almost be said that Jackson was too brave. He was quarrelsome. His whole life was marred by violent disputes that might easily have been avoided. In the times in which he lived there was nothing unusual in such affairs. By many they were looked upon as marks of manliness, and Jackson was so straightforward in his dealings, and so loyal to his friends, that his reputation seems to have suffered little from these unfortunate experiences. He was elected to several important state offices.

War gave him the opportunity to display his greatest ability. In various Indian uprisings; as an officer of the Tennessee militia; as commander at New Orleans in the great land victory that soothed the stings of so many defeats; in Florida as a regular army officer on border duty, Jackson made himself the great military hero of his time, and so won his way to the presidency, aided, it must be admitted, by friends who were shrewd and clever politicians.

As President, Jackson was a commanding figure. His bearing and manners were courtly and he commanded admiration wherever he appeared. Like the great new West which he represented, he had that fault of youth, self-assurance. Jackson was very sure he was right, and moreover that those who disagreed with him were not only wrong, but rascals. But Andrew Jackson, man of the common people, representative of the common people, and leader of the common people, understood and loved and sympathized with his followers. They repaid him in kind, and his administration was one of personal triumph. The measures he advocated were made laws; a great political party grew up in his support; he served two terms and was allowed to select his own successor, and then retired from public office with a serene faith that he had given a real service to the country he loved.

HENRY CLAY
1777–1852

Perhaps no American statesman ever had a larger circle of enthusiastic friends than did Henry Clay. He was born in a poor part of Hanover county, Virginia, known as "The Slashes." His father, a Baptist clergyman, died when Henry was only four years old, leaving the mother with seven children and little property. A log house with the hard earth for a floor served as the schoolhouse where Henry learned reading, writing, and arithmetic. Occasionally he took wheat or corn upon a horse's back and rode to the mill to have it ground to flour. The poverty of these early years was summed up in a nick-name which was a favorite among his friends, "The Mill Boy of the Slashes."

Friends urged him to try his fortune in Richmond. Here his keen mind and attention to duty attracted the attention of Chancellor George Wythe of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia. Four years Henry Clay served as a clerk in the Chancellor's office, copying papers, reading law books, and profiting greatly from his association with this wise and noble man. At the age of twenty Clay became a practicing lawyer, and at once moved to Lexington, Kentucky. His education was meager and superficial enough, but that was hardly a handicap among the frontiersmen and pioneers of Kentucky. His lack of knowledge was often concealed by a fluency of speech which enabled him to make the most of such bits of learning as he did possess. A young man of unusual keenness of intellect, pleasing personality, high spirits, warm sympathies, a cheery nature, and sociable tastes, he easily became the center of a circle of admiring friends.

His public career began early. As a member of Congress he took the lead among those who favored the war with Great Britain in 1812. His enthusiasm ran wild and he predicted an easy conquest of Canada. In spite of his rashness at this time, he retained a firm hold on the people of Kentucky, who elected him to Congress again and again. He served several terms as Speaker of the House of Representatives, was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, and for many years was a member of the United States Senate.

The great disappointment of his life was his failure to become President. Probably no man in America ever longed more earnestly to win that high office. Three times he was a formal candidate of the Whig party and three times he was defeated.

Clay is known in history as the Great Compromiser, and rightly so. The supreme ideal of his political career was the preservation of the Union. When the tariff issue or the slavery question threatened the life of the nation, Clay was ever ready to seek some common ground which would serve as the basis of a compromise. His name is connected with many proposals which sought to soothe and satisfy hostile factions. The greatest of these was the Compromise of 1850, a series of measures which probably postponed the Civil War for ten vitally important years.

Clay possessed a wonderfully attractive personality and won hosts of friends. His love for his country is unquestioned, his personal integrity without a blemish: and he ranks as one of our greatest orators, winning men by his powers of persuasion rather than convincing them by stern facts or logical arguments.

JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782–1850

Few men, whose influence upon the events of their own times was so important, are so little known today as John C. Calhoun. The reason is not far to seek, for the greatest part of his service was given to a cause which the Civil War doomed to failure. From 1830 to his death, Calhoun was almost the impersonation of the slavery question.

His boyhood in the hill country of western South Carolina gave this son of a poor Scotch-Irish farmer few opportunities, but he later managed to attend Yale College, where he graduated in 1804.

Elected to Congress in 1810, Calhoun was one of that group of enthusiastic young "War Hawks" who forced Madison into the War of 1812. After the war, he was a leader in securing legislation for internal improvements, a National Bank, and a protective tariff. From 1817 to 1825 he was Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, a position which he filled with great honor to himself. His ardent patriotism and his clear and quick understanding were winning him many friends, and he earnestly hoped to become President of the United States. Instead he was elected Vice-President in 1824 and again in 1828.

A bitter quarrel with Jackson and a quick turn of events in South Carolina changed the whole course of Calhoun's career, and after 1830 he became a man possessed of a single idea. Calhoun was ambitious. He had helped Jackson win the presidency and expected Jackson's

friendship in return. When they quarrelled instead, — partly at least because Mrs. Calhoun would not invite a certain Mrs. Eaton to her home at Jackson's request, — Calhoun was embittered, and turned to his native state of South Carolina for the popular approval which his nature craved. Here the tariff of 1828 was the source of great discontent. Calhoun now set forth a doctrine of state sovereignty which immediately became popular in South Carolina. The logical outcome of this doctrine was the Nullification Ordinance of 1832. When Jackson threatened to use force to compel South Carolina to obey the laws of the nation and talked of a charge of high treason against Calhoun, who was then in the Senate, the latter joined with Clay in securing a compromise tariff which seemed to the people of South Carolina a real victory for their hero.

Calhoun's doctrine of states' rights was soon discovered to be admirably adapted to meet the needs of the friends of slavery and was widely accepted throughout the South. Calhoun became the foremost champion of the slaveholding interests. He did not stop with defending slavery as necessary to southern prosperity, but argued that it was preferable to the wage system of northern factory cities. Such teachings were very acceptable to the friends of slavery, and Calhoun became the acknowledged spokesman of the cotton kingdom. His last speech in the Senate, read by a friend while Calhoun sat by, too weak to stand, was a final plea for what he considered justice to his beloved South, coupled with a demand that the North should cease to agitate the slavery question, because this was the only method of restoring harmony and kind feelings between the sections.

DANIEL WEBSTER
1782–1852

When Daniel Webster was a small boy living on a little New Hampshire farm, he saw in a peddler's pack a wonderful cotton handkerchief on which had been printed the entire Constitution. The price was twenty-five cents, and that happened to be the lad's whole fortune, but he did not hesitate. He recognized a great treasure and bought it.

By the time his family was able to send Webster to school he had memorized the Constitution, and had decided to make a special study of history and government. Moreover he was determined to become a great orator. His first public attempt on "Declamation Day" was a

miserable failure. The boy refused to be discouraged, however, and in his junior year at Dartmouth College he was honored by being asked to deliver the Fourth of July oration for the town. He chose as his subject, "Our Constitution," and stirred his audience by his deep love and reverence for the great document.

After college, Webster taught school a while, and then studied law. He practiced his profession in Portsmouth and later in Boston, where he soon became one of the most successful lawyers of his day.

Men who knew Webster gave as the three reasons for this success, his appearance, his oratory, and his power of mind. People described him as lionlike, with great black eyes, dull in repose, but flashing like lightning when he was aroused. His voice, they said, had tones like a great cathedral organ, and varied from those to notes as crystal clear and soft as a woman's. In addition Daniel Webster was a thinker. He knew his facts, and he knew how to present them so that they were irresistible.

Such a man could not be kept out of politics. He was a member of the House of Representatives, a United States Senator, and twice Secretary of State. In each capacity Webster gave splendid service to his country, but it was in 1830, while a member of the Senate, that he reached the summit of his fame.

At that time the country was quivering with apprehension because of the nullification theory. Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, had given a splendid presentation, in a Senate debate, of the Southern idea of the meaning of the Constitution and the supreme right of the states under it.

The speech threw a chill of fear over the North. Men wondered if it could be answered. Webster soon set their minds at rest. On the 26th of January, in his famous "Reply to Hayne," he set forth the idea of the supremacy of the national government under the Constitution so clearly and convincingly that his theory found an immediate acceptance in the North, and has since been recognized as the true basis of our government.

In spite of his many services, Webster was denied the honor of the presidential nomination. He saw men whom he believed to be inferior made the candidates of his party because of their availability. In time he became very bitter over this unjust treatment, and allowed his feeling to become known. When the Compromise of 1850 came up for discussion, Webster took a stand that disappointed and disgusted many of his most devoted friends.

Before this he had always hated slavery and had opposed its extension into the territories. Some of his finest oratory had been inspired by this feeling. But in what is known as the "Seventh of March" speech, he supported the compromise measures, especially the one providing for the organization of Utah and New Mexico under popular sovereignty. The anti-slavery North was horrified. Its people felt that their idol had betrayed them. He was accused of selling his conscience for Southern votes for the presidency. He defended himself on the grounds that compromise was necessary to preserve the Union which he had always loved so well, and that an "act of God," meaning climate, had barred slavery from this territory anyway.

Whatever Webster's motive, the speech was fatal to his personal popularity. His health failed under the storm of reproach. Although appointed Secretary of State under Fillmore, he was not able to direct the work of his department. A fall from his horse hastened the end. In a moment of consciousness just before his death, the great statesman cried out, "I still live." What he said is true today. Daniel Webster will continue to live as long as the great document he defended and interpreted remains the foundation of the United States of America.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1809–1865

On the platform sat two men. One rose to speak. He was of medium height, well-dressed, graceful, and his smooth, well-trained voice pleased the ears of those who listened to his carefully polished oratory. He was the "Little Giant," Stephen A. Douglas, the greatest orator of the Illinois country.

Then the other man rose and stepped forward. He was tall and ungainly. His ill-fitting clothes hung loosely on his angular body. His gestures were awkward, and his language was the homely everyday speech of his audience. But every man who heard him knew that he spoke the words which his heart believed. He was "Honest Abe" Lincoln.

He had been born in a Kentucky cabin, the only son of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Of his mother little is known; she died when the boy was eight years old. His father was a ne'er-do-well, who blamed all his troubles on the place where he lived. Consequently the family moved often. For several years their home was in southern Indiana, and they finally reached Illinois.

There was little schooling possible for Abraham Lincoln: if the records are complete, he spent not more than one full year in the schoolroom. There were few books in his home — the Bible, Shakespeare, Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, a life of Washington, and a history of the United States — but these he read again and again. A stepmother, who came into the home when Abraham was ten, seems to have had a large share in getting the boy started right. There is a pleasant picture of him sitting before the open fire doing his problems on a wooden shovel and shaving off the wood to get a clean surface, while the stepmother was busy with the housework.

Abraham Lincoln had a part in the usual tasks of a pioneer community — clearing land, plowing for corn, splitting rails for fences, keeping a country store, and the like. The reputation for physical strength and for honesty which he won in those days remained with him until his death.

When he became of age, Abraham left home, studied law, and became a successful lawyer in Springfield, Illinois. He refused to take a case unless he believed right was on his side. He was elected to the Illinois legislature and later to Congress, where he served one term.

A few experiences with slavery, especially those gained on two journeys down the river to New Orleans, had roused in him a deep sense of the wrongfulness of holding human beings in bondage, and while never an abolitionist, he early became an anti-slavery man.

His series of debates with Douglas in 1858 first made Lincoln known outside of Illinois. The next year he was invited to speak at Cooper Union in New York City. He prepared his speech carefully, said what he honestly believed about slavery, and made a very favorable impression on the country. Nevertheless, when the Republican convention met in 1860, most people were surprised that Abraham Lincoln received the nomination for the presidency. A split in the Democratic party made his election almost certain.

At his inauguration, Lincoln was overcome with awkward embarrassment and arose to make his speech, still holding his hat. Douglas, who was on the platform, stepped forward in a very courteous manner, and took the hat, saying simply, "There can be no greater honor."

The new President who had come the long distance from a western log cabin to the White House entered upon a period of misunderstanding and dreadful responsibility almost too great for human endurance. Yet this man of the common people bore himself so meekly and so wisely all through those trying days of civil war, that people everywhere came to

love him, recognizing in him a kindness of heart, a greatness of soul, a coolness of judgment, a sincerity of purpose, and a winsomeness of personality which made him tower far above the best of them. Even those who hated the principles for which he stood learned to love the man himself for his greatness and goodness.

He came to the task when the nation sorely needed such a man at the helm. If Washington was the father of his country, Lincoln was its savior.

ULYSSES S. GRANT
1822–1885

At noon on March 4, 1869, General Grant became President Grant. When he laid aside the familiar blue uniform with the four gold stars and put on civilian clothes, it changed not only his appearance but also his relation to his countrymen. He was no longer an army commander whose every order must be obeyed; he was the servant of the nation who must win the approval of the people and the politicians if he was to carry out his plans. It was a change which very few men have made successfully; and it was one for which Grant's earlier life had afforded little training.

His boyhood had been spent in a small village in southern Ohio where his father owned a tannery. At the age of eight, "Lys," as he was often called, was driving a team to haul bark to the tannery; and two years later his father trusted him to drive a span of horses forty miles to Cincinnati. From such experiences, Grant gained a high degree of self-confidence and an undying love for horses. At West Point, he made a satisfactory record, and left behind him an unusual reputation for honesty and trustworthiness; and he served in the Mexican War with distinction. All this was excellent training for his military career; but was of little value for a political position.

During the Civil War he made a wonderful record. From the day when the news of his capture of Fort Donelson won him the name of "Unconditional Surrender" Grant, until Lee's army surrendered at Appomattox, Grant rose rapidly in popular esteem until he was far and away the best loved man in the country. It was that popularity which made him President.

Unfortunately, Grant had no skill in handling the kind of men he was likely to meet in political life. He was a quiet man who seldom

asked advice. He could not, as Lincoln had done, drop in and drink a cup of tea with a Senator whose influence was important and win his support by a bit of friendly conversation. Because he lacked political tact he soon found the politicians opposing his pet plans.

In the political quarrels which were all about him, Grant saw little except a rivalry between friends and foes; and he stood by his friends. Some of those whom he gathered about him proved wholly unworthy of his friendship. His own life was so clean and truthful, so utterly lacking in deceit, that he found it impossible to understand how those he trusted could be otherwise than honest and straightforward.

It was Grant's misfortune to be President at a time when the ideals of men in public office were not so high as they later became. He was in no way to blame for this; no President could have avoided the scandals which were a product of the times. Throughout all this trying period, Grant was always loyal to his friends, sometimes unwisely so perhaps, but loyal. His own idea he expressed in plain words: "The true test of friendship after all isn't to stand by a man when he is in the right; anyone will do that; but the true test is to stand by him when he is in the wrong."

However much his friends deserved blame for their misdeeds, Grant's own character was above reproach. Never once did any taint of suspicion cling to him. He was clean and honest. He said once, "I don't lie myself, and I won't have anyone lie for me."

JOHN HAY
1834–1905

Once upon a time there was a period of great excitement in Springfield, Illinois. A long, lanky man was getting ready to move to Washington. Half the city seemed anxious to be of service. Those who didn't call to see what they could do, sent letters instead.

"Phew," said the secretary of the long, lanky man, "if it is like this now, what will it be after the fourth of March? I think we ought to take Hay with us."

"But, sonny," his employer remonstrated, "we can't take all Springfield to Washington."

Then he looked apprehensively at the mountain of letters to be answered. "Well, take Johnny along," he said.

So John Hay, Westerner, aged twenty-three, went to Washington as the assistant private secretary of Abraham Lincoln.

Blessed with the rare privilege of living close to the great President during the whole Civil War period, Hay learned to adore the big "Chief," while Lincoln, on his part, learned to love his boy secretary. A visitor asked a member of the White House family how it was that Lincoln could stand the awful burden of responsibility he had to bear. "He can, because he has John Hay," was the answer. In after years, Hay was to number kings and queens and princes among his admirers, but he could never have another compliment equal to that.

As assistant secretary, Hay had a great variety of duties. He took care of part of Lincoln's private correspondence, carried messages, sometimes to generals in the field, and because of his position in the center of things, saw the whole Civil War at close range. After its close, Hay went to Paris as secretary of the American Legation. The young secretary learned the fine points of diplomacy, made friends, and studied manners. Later he held a similar post at Vienna, and later still at Madrid. He was still in preparatory school, but like many other scholars, growing restless because he did not seem to be getting anywhere.

So he went home and tried journalism and literature for a while, and was very successful, too. Then Destiny interfered. She had other plans for this man she had trained so carefully.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century the fact that the United States had become a world power was generally accepted. Her most important relationship was the one with Great Britain. President McKinley had to appoint a new ambassador to the Court of St. James. The position demanded a skilled and polished diplomat, with a capacity for making friends. He chose John Hay.

The new ambassador entered on his task with delight. Before he had been in England very long he could write home that "I can find nothing but hearty kindness and . . . sympathy." This was especially important, for in the days of the Spanish-American War, the United States needed British friendship. Queen Victoria said of Hay, "He is the most interesting ambassador I have ever known."

But Hay was not to enjoy this atmosphere very long. His country had a new task for him. He was called home to accept the office of Secretary of State.

A great office can do nothing for a small man, but a great man can shed lustre on any office. Hay was one of our great Secretaries of State.

All the skill, all the polish, all the capacity for friendship he had been acquiring through the long period of preparation were needed in the service of his country at this critical time in her career.

First under McKinley, and then under Roosevelt, Hay piled up success after success in the department of state. He surprised the old-school diplomats by being honest, straightforward, and courteous, and almost at once they met him on his own ground. The substitution of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty for the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; the acceptance of the "Open Door" policy in China and the maintaining of the *Integrity* of China were personal victories for the secretary as well as national triumphs.

When Roosevelt's direct action methods might have antagonized, Hay was "the velvet glove on that hand of steel." The two men worked together splendidly but the work of the state department was continuous and nerve-racking, and John Hay was an old man by this time. In the seventh year of his service his health failed. The doctors ordered complete rest; he compromised by taking a vacation.

Then President Roosevelt had the opportunity to bring about peace in the war between Japan and Russia, and John Hay went back to his desk. The will to serve was strong, but the physical strength was lacking. The many affairs of the great nation's department of state fell from tired fingers, and the man who had worked so devotedly for the highest good of his own nation and all other nations, who had been Lincoln's friend and Roosevelt's fellow workman, slipped away to a final rest, one of America's Heroes of Peace.

GROVER CLEVELAND
1837–1908

"Successful even in his failures," seems to be the verdict of history on the only Democrat who was elected to the presidency in the half century after the beginning of the Civil War.

The parsonage of the Presbyterian church at Caldwell, New Jersey, was the birthplace of Grover Cleveland, for his father and several other ancestors as well were ministers. The boy grew up in a home where discipline helped to form character, where good reading helped to broaden the mind, and where obedience to right rules of living helped to produce sound minds in sound bodies.

Grover Cleveland's father and older brothers were college men, but

just as Grover was completing his preparatory course, the father died. At the age of sixteen the young man had to go to work. After clerking in a grocery store, he taught for a year in the New York Institution for the Blind. Then he went to Buffalo, where an uncle helped him to get a chance to study in a law office.

Following his service as assistant district attorney, and later as sheriff of Erie county, Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo. It was a period when honesty in public office was all too rare; Cleveland made enemies among dishonest politicians by living up to his ideal that "public office is a public trust." His courage, his honesty, and even his bluntness won enthusiastic support from the people who wanted good government. His record as mayor of Buffalo won him the governorship of New York in 1882. He continued to anger old-time politicians by his outspoken criticism of them and their methods. He generally spoke the truth, but it was the kind of truth that hurt.

In 1884, Cleveland became the Democratic nominee for President and was elected. He held the office for eight years, with a four-year interval between his two terms. His task was a difficult one. The attitude of many Republicans was expressed in verses written by Eugene Field:

"Out on reformers such as these;
By Freedom's sacred powers,
We'll run the country as we please,
We saved it, and it's ours."

The Democratic politicians were just as bitterly opposed to him; and while his traits delighted those who esteemed good government above party, Cleveland lacked the ability to keep their continued support. He was not a genius; he was not even a man of unusual talent. He was an honest, steady, hard-working man ready to do his duty as he saw it with unflinching courage and an almost reckless disregard for consequences.

The country was facing new problems and needed a man who could see through to the heart of them and find remedies. Cleveland could not do this. Fearful abuses had crept into the pension system; Cleveland drew a fire of criticism by vetoing hundreds of bad pension bills, but he did nothing to correct the system.

Whatever course he followed, he was opposed by the leaders of both parties, and each new step made new enemies. Few men have left the White House with a smaller number of friends; but time has shown the wisdom and courage of most of his policies.

By enforcing order during a great railroad strike, he made enemies among union labor; but he proved that the government had power to compel all groups of citizens to obey its just laws. By his opposition to the free coinage of silver he antagonized the free silver advocates; but he forced his party to take a stand for or against the issue and helped to secure a victory for "honest money" in the election of 1896.

Cleveland's most lasting service to his country came in connection with the Venezuela boundary dispute. His firmness in dealing with Great Britain in this affair, although severely criticised, nevertheless helped to convince the world that the Monroe Doctrine was an important American principle which every foreign nation must respect.

THOMAS A. EDISON
1847–

THERE is no genius equal to the genius of hard work. A study of the life of Thomas A. Edison will show how true is that statement in his case.

Northern Ohio, to which his father and mother had come from Canada, was the scene of his birth. His mother had been a successful school teacher in Nova Scotia. For several years that mother taught her boy at home. Under her skilful direction Thomas Edison made rapid progress, and began to show great interest in books on electricity.

Meantime the family had moved from northern Ohio to Michigan. At the age of eleven, Edison became a newsboy on a train between Detroit and Port Huron. In an unused part of the train he gathered together various chemicals and began making experiments. One day a bottle of phosphorus fell to the floor and the car caught fire. Edison lost his job.

Later he learned telegraphy and by hard work and constant practice became one of the fastest operators in the United States. He worked in many different places, frequently finding himself out of employment because of the results of some unlucky experiment, for he was always experimenting.

Finally he reached New York City, where he developed a "ticker" for use in brokers' offices. This was his first successful invention. He sold it for $40,000 and immediately invested the money in securing a laboratory, books, and equipment to continue his experiments. His next important invention was a duplex telegraph, by the use of which

two messages can be sent over one wire at the same time. This was so successful that he followed it with a quadruplex telegraph which makes it possible to send four messages at once.

None of his inventions, however, required more hard work and more thorough research than the incandescent electric light. The arc lamp, such as is often used for street lighting, had already been invented by Charles Brush. Edison became interested and undertook to develop an electric light small enough to be suitable for house use. He got along fairly well until it came to finding the material for the fine wire inside the lamp bulb. He first had some very fine platinum wire made; but it melted. He tried all the metals and combinations of metals he could think of, but none of them would work.

Finally he sent out and bought a spool of cotton thread. A short length of this was bent in the shape of a hairpin, laid in a nickel mould, and placed in a furnace for five hours. At the end of that time the thread had become a filament of carbon; but the instant it was touched, it broke. He tried again and again, and after two days and two nights of constant endeavor, succeeded in getting one of these threads of carbon safely inside a light bulb. Then the electric current was turned on, and a beautiful soft light greeted his weary eyes.

After twenty-four hours of sleep Edison began the search for some substance more durable than cotton thread for the carbon filament. He tried everything he could think of and found that a strip of bamboo from a Japanese fan gave the best results. Then he sent out men to all parts of the world to gather together samples of all the many varieties of bamboo. After a search which cost $100,000, they found in Brazil a kind of bamboo which met his needs.

This was in 1879. Since that time Edison has made many important inventions, but perhaps none of them have added more to the comfort of millions of homes than this incandescent electric light which cost him so many weary hours of painstaking labor.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
1858–1919

Athletes become powerful through practice, and strong men acquire strength by striving. Theodore Roosevelt did not have to struggle for a living, for he was born into a well-to-do New York family of Dutch descent, but he did have to struggle to live. Asthma and nearsighted-

ness were the giants he had to conquer, and the conquest cost many a battle.

As a boy he was puny, undersized, sickly, unable to go to school, and unequal to the rough-and-ready sports in which boys delight. He determined to gain strength and stuck to daily exercise so persistently that by the time he had reached college age he was able to hold his own with anyone. He was fairly well grown before his family discovered that he was so nearsighted that he saw only a small part of what other people could see, and yet by close observation he had learned so much about natural history that Latin was easy when he came to study it because he knew so many scientific names.

At ten, he and his young cousins had started the "Roosevelt Museum of Natural History," and "Teddy" kept a careful and accurate account of the specimens he collected. He was determined to become a great naturalist, and once when his mother decided that the family ice box was not the proper place for a family of mice the young scientist had under observation, he was inconsolable for several days because of "the loss to science."

In college the young man changed his mind about his life work. He decided that he wanted to serve his country and that he could do it best by going into politics. His friends tried to persuade him that his plan was foolish and impractical and that young men of the better class were wise to leave that game to the practical politicians. Their arguments fell on deaf ears.

After strenuous political service in New York, Roosevelt went out to North Dakota and took up ranching. A tenderfoot who wore glasses caused a gale of merriment among the western cowboys, but the tenderfoot stood the test. He rode with them, fought with them, and even served as their deputy sheriff. In the end he won them, and in after years they proved their loyalty to "Teddy" on battlefield and in the voting booth.

After a while politics claimed him again, for the people had need of such a servant. He accepted an appointment as Civil Service Commissioner under President Cleveland and put such vim into the merit system that everyone was delighted, except the politicians who wanted offices to reward their followers.

Then New York City elected a reform mayor who offered Theodore Roosevelt the presidency of the Board of Police Commissioners. The new commanding officer found the police system of the great city a mass of corruption, protecting rather than prosecuting vice. With every evil

force in the city working against him, Roosevelt cleaned up the police department and made it one of the finest and most efficient organizations to be found anywhere.

He resigned that office to accept an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and devoted a large part of his energy in this position to the securing of appropriations for target practice. Bitter criticisms were heaped upon the head of the young Assistant Secretary for this *waste* of the people's money, but the skill of the American gunners in the Spanish-American War proved the wisdom of his forethought.

When the Spanish-American War began, Roosevelt organized a regiment of "rough riders" among his old cowboy friends, refused to serve as its commanding officer because he "didn't know enough," but was later promoted to the position for gallantry and skill. His regiment gave splendid service in Cuba.

It would take pages to tell the story of Theodore Roosevelt's accomplishments. He was a vivid writer, and his books on natural science and on our national history would have made him famous had he done nothing else. As a politician he was so brave, so honest, so devoted to the rights of the common people, that the regular political leaders became worried.

In 1900 they nominated him for the vice-presidency, much against his will, because they thought it would be an effective way to "shelve the young reformer."

President McKinley's death spoiled the plan. Far from being shelved, the young reformer was to guide the national government for the next three years and a half.

The period since the Civil War had been one of remarkable prosperity. Able and unscrupulous men had amassed great fortunes. It had become the fashion to speak of these men and their fortunes as "Capital." Bloated with success this Capital had grown arrogant. The Republican party of the time was its party, but the new President was not its man. Steadfastly Roosevelt set himself to the disciplining of this selfish power. The seven and a half years of his presidency, — for he was triumphantly reelected at the end of the first term, — was one long struggle for equal justice for all. President Roosevelt hated "shilly-shallying" and always chose the shortest and most direct way to accomplish whatever he believed should be done. He was often criticized, but he was greatly loved.

His popularity waned at times, especially when as ex-president he led a faction which broke with the old Republican party and formed the one known as the Progressive. But in the end his bitterest enemies for-

gave him, and when in January of 1919 the news of his death flashed round the world, men bowed their heads in grief over the passing of a great American who had lived up to the ideal he had set for himself — "to do justice and to love mercy and to walk humbly with God."

WOODROW WILSON
1856–1924

"THE world must be made safe for democracy," said President Wilson on the eve of the declaration of war against Germany. The phrase is a key to the whole life of the man.

His grandparents came from northern Ireland to America in 1807 and his grandfather became the publisher of several newspapers. The youngest son of that Scotch-Irish home became a Presbyterian minister, a college professor, and the father of Woodrow Wilson. The future President's mother was born in England, the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian minister. From such an ancestry Woodrow Wilson inherited an earnest purpose to help make the world a better place in which to live.

He was born in Staunton, Virginia, but before he was two years old the family moved to Augusta, Georgia. One of his earliest memories was of a conversation he overheard when he was four. "Have you heard the news?" asked one man of another. "Lincoln has been elected." "Lincoln elected!" exclaimed the other, "There'll be war." War there was indeed, of which the child knew little, for Augusta was not the scene of any fighting, and he was only nine when Lee's army surrendered.

Perhaps the only effect of the war on Woodrow Wilson was to postpone the beginning of his school life. His first teacher was a Confederate veteran who had returned from four years of soldiering. When Woodrow was fourteen, his father moved to Wilmington, North Carolina, and sent him to a local academy. If the war had little influence on Woodrow Wilson, the events of the reconstruction period, occurring when the boy was just becoming a man, made a lasting impression, and developed a strong desire to help men secure their rights through a larger share in the government.

From his Southern home, Woodrow Wilson went to Princeton, where he graduated in 1879. After further studies at Johns Hopkins University, he became a college professor, and finally, in 1902, president of Prince-

ton University. Here he urged and secured numerous changes, all in the direction of making the life of the university more democratic.

In 1910 he was elected governor of New Jersey, and was at last in a position to put into actual practice many of the reforms which his long study of government had led him to believe were important. Among other things he secured laws giving the people a larger share in nominating candidates for office, and compelling the corporations to give more heed to the welfare of the people.

His success in the governor's office made him a leading candidate for President in 1912. His eight years in the White House and the reforms which he urged served to make plainer his ideal of securing "the right of every man to a voice in the government under which he lives."

The war gave Woodrow Wilson his supreme opportunity. "A living people needs not a master but a leader," he said on one occasion. During the war he became that leader, — a preacher of ideals to the whole American people, and even to the world. He sounded a clear call to service in the great task of making the liberties of every people secure; and with a common purpose which was marvelous, the people responded, ready to give all they loved and all they had "to redeem the world and make it fit for free men to live in."

After the war he became one of the foremost advocates of the League of Nations. Believing that such a plan would help in preventing future wars, he devoted his utmost endeavor toward overcoming the opposition to America's entrance into the League. The task which he had set himself proved to be beyond his powers of physical endurance. After the forced abandonment of his tour of personal appeal to the country in 1919, and the subsequent close of his administration, he lived in Washington, where his residence became a shrine for throngs of his admirers, in whom he inspired an unswerving loyalty. But as he himself expressed it, "the machine had broken down." His death in February, 1924, brought forth world-wide expression of sorrow.

APPENDIX I

IMPORTANT DATES BEFORE 1789

1492. Columbus's voyage of discovery
1565. Spanish settlement at St. Augustine
1588. English defeat the Spanish Armada
1607. First English settlement at Jamestown
1608. French settlement at Port Royal
1613. Dutch begin settlement
1619. Beginning of representative government
1620. Settlement at Plymouth
1635. First public schools established
1643. New England Confederation
1733. Last of thirteen colonies, Georgia, founded
1763. French give up all claim to North America
1765. Stamp Act
1774. First Continental Congress
1775. Second Continental Congress
1776. Declaration of Independence
1781. Articles of Confederation adopted
1783. Great Britain acknowledges independence of the United States
1787. Northwest Ordinance opens West to settlement
1787. The Constitution made
1789. Washington becomes President

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TABLE OF PRESIDENTS

No.	Name	Birthplace	Date Birth	Date Death	Term of Office	Politics	Vice-Pres.	Sec. of State
1.	Geo. Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	1789–1797	Federal	Jno. Adams	Thos. Jefferson Edmund Randolph Timothy Pickering
2.	John Adams	Mass.	1735	1826	1797–1801	Federal	Thos. Jefferson	Timothy Pickering John Marshall
3.	Thos. Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	1801–1809	Rep-Dem[1]	Aaron Burr Geo. Clinton	Jas. Madison
4.	Jas. Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	1809–1817	Rep-Dem	Geo. Clinton Elbridge Gerry	Robt. Smith Jas. Monroe
5.	Jas. Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	1817–1825	Rep-Dem	Daniel Tompkins	John Q. Adams
6.	Jno. Q. Adams	Mass.	1767	1848	1825–1829	Rep-Dem[2]	Jno. C. Calhoun	Henry Clay
7.	Andrew Jackson	N. Carolina	1767	1845	1829–1837	Democr.	Jno. C. Calhoun M. Van Buren	M. Van Buren Edw. Livingston Louis McLane
8.	M. Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	1837–1841	Democr.	R. M. Johnson	Jno. Forsyth
9.	Wm. H. Harrison	Virginia	1773	1841	1841-1 mo.	Whig	Jno. Tyler	Daniel Webster Hugh S. Legare Abel P. Upshur Jno. C. Calhoun
10.	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	1841–1845	Whig		
11.	Jas. K. Polk	N. Carolina	1795	1849	1845–1849	Democr.	Geo. M. Dallas	Jas. Buchanan
12.	Zachary Taylor	Virginia	1784	1850	1849–1850 1 yr. 4 m.	Whig	Millard Fillmore	Jno. M. Clayton
13.	M. Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	1850–1853 2 yr. 8 m.	Whig		Daniel Webster Edw. Everett
14.	Franklin Pierce	New Hamp.	1804	1869	1853–1857	Democr.	Wm. R. King	Wm. L. Marcy
15.	Jas. Buchanan	Penn.	1791	1868	1857–1861	Democr.	J.C.Breckinridge	Lewis Cass Jeremiah Black

16.	Abraham Lincoln	Ken.	1809	1865	1861–1865 4 yr. 1 mo.	Republ.	H. Hamlin And. Johnson	Wm. H. Seward
17.	Andrew Johnson	N. Carolina	1808	1875	1865–1869 3 yr. 11m.	Republ.		Wm. H. Seward
18.	U. S. Grant	Ohio	1822	1885	1869–1877	Republ.	S. Colfax Henry Wilson	E. B. Washburne Hamilton Fish
19.	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	1877–1881	Republ.	Wm. A. Wheeler	Wm. M. Evarts
20.	Jas. A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	1881–6½ mo.	Republ.	Chester A. Arthur	Jas. Blaine
21.	Ches. A. Arthur	Vermont	1830	1886	1881–85 3 yr. 5½ m.	Republ.		F. T. Frelinghuysen
22. 24.	Grover Cleveland	N. Jersey	1837	1908	1885–89 1893–97	Democr.	T. A. Hendricks A. Stevenson	Walter Gresham Richard Olney
23.	Benj. Harrison	Ohio	1833	1901	1889–93	Republ.	Levi Morton	Jas. G. Blaine John Foster
25.	Wm. McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1897–01 4 yr. 6 m.	Republ.	Garrett Hobart Theo. Roosevelt	John Sherman Wm. R. Day John Hay
26.	Theo. Roosevelt	New York	1858	1919	1901–09 7 yr. 6 m.	Republ.	Chas. Fairbanks	John Hay Elihu Root Robt. Bacon
27.	Wm. H. Taft	Ohio	1857		1909–13	Republ.	Jas. S. Sherman	Philander C. Knox
28.	Woodrow Wilson	Virginia	1856	1924	1913–21	Democr.	Thos. Marshall	Wm. J. Bryan Robt. Lansing Everett J. Colby
29.	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	1923	1921–1923	Republ.	Calvin Coolidge	Chas. E. Hughes
30.	Calvin Coolidge	Vermont	1872		1923–	Republ.		Chas. E. Hughes

[1] The present Democratic party claims Thomas Jefferson as one of its founders; but the party was usually called Republican in Jefferson's time.

[2] There was only the one party when John Quincy Adams was elected. He afterward became a Whig.

COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS

Name of Colony	Date of Settlement	Place of Settlement	By Whom Settled	Charter Granted to	Date of First Assembly	Type of Colony When Founded	Type of Colony in 1775
Plymouth	1620	Plymouth	Pilgrims (Eng.)	None granted	1639	Merged with Mass. in 1691	
Massachusetts	1628	Salem	Puritans (Eng.)	Mass. Bay Co.	1633	Corporate	Royal
Maine	1625	Pemaquid	Eng. fishermen	Gorges		Bought by Mass. in 1677	
New Hampshire	1623	Dover (?)	Eng. fishermen	John Mason	1680	Proprietary	Royal
Rhode Island	1636	Providence	Eng. from Mass.	Roger Williams	1647	Corporate	Corporate
Connecticut	1636	Hartford	Eng. from Mass.	Settlers	1637	Corporate	Corporate
New Haven	1638	New Haven	English		1643	Merged with Conn. in 1662	
New York	1613	Ft. Orange	Dutch	Duke of York when English gained possession in 1664	1683	Proprietary	Royal
New Jersey	1617	Bergen	Dutch		1664	Proprietary	Royal
Delaware	1638	Christina	Sweden		1702	Proprietary	Prop.
Pennsylvania	1681	Philadelphia	Quakers (Eng.)	Wm. Penn	1684	Proprietary	Prop.
Virginia	1607	Jamestown	English	London Co.	1619	Corporate	Royal
Maryland	1634	St. Marys	English	Lord Baltimore	1634	Proprietary	Prop.
North Carolina	1663	Albemarle (?)	English	8 Nobles		Proprietary	Royal
South Carolina	1670	Old Charleston	English		1669	Proprietary	Royal
Georgia	1733	Savannah	English	Jas. Oglethorpe	1733	Proprietary	Royal

CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

John Jay, N. Y.	1789–1795
Oliver Ellsworth, Conn.	1796–1800
John Marshall, Va.	1801–1835
Roger Taney, Md.	1836–1864
Salmon P. Chase, Ohio	1864–1873
Morrison R. Waite, Ohio	1874–1888
Melville W. Fuller, Ill.	1888–1910
Edward D. White, La.	1910–1921
William H. Taft, Ohio	1921–

TABLE OF STATES

No.	Name of State	Date of Settlement	Date of Admission	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1920
1	Delaware	1638	1787	2,050	223,003
2	Pennsylvania	1681	1787	45,215	8,720,159
3	New Jersey	1617	1787	7,815	3,155,374
4	Georgia	1733	1788	59,475	2,894,683
5	Connecticut	1636	1788	4,990	1,380,585
6	Massachusetts	1620	1788	8,315	3,852,356
7	Maryland	1634	1788	12,210	1,449,610
8	South Carolina	1670	1788	30,570	1,683,662
9	New Hampshire	1623	1788	9,305	443,083
10	Virginia	1607	1788	42,450	2,306,361
11	New York	1613	1788	49,170	10,384,144
12	North Carolina	1663	1789	52,250	2,556,486
13	Rhode Island	1636	1790	1,250	604,397
14	Vermont	1724	1791	9,565	352,421
15	Kentucky	1774	1792	40,400	2,416,013
16	Tennessee	1769	1796	42,050	2,337,459
17	Ohio	1788	1803	41,060	5,759,368
18	Louisiana	1700	1812	48,720	1,797,798
19	Indiana	1702	1816	36,350	2,930,544
20	Mississippi	1716	1817	46,810	1,789,384
21	Illinois	1682	1818	56,650	6,485,098
22	Alabama	1702	1819	52,250	2,347,295
23	Maine	1625	1820	33,040	768,014
24	Missouri	1719	1821	69,415	3,403,547

TABLE OF STATES — *Continued*

No.	Name of State	Date of Settlement	Date of Admission	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1920
25	Arkansas	1690	1836	53,850	1,750,995
26	Michigan	1670	1837	58,915	3,667,222
27	Florida	1565	1845	58,680	966,296
28	Texas	1685	1845	265,780	4,661,027
29	Iowa	1833	1846	56,025	2,403,630
30	Wisconsin	1669	1848	56,040	2,631,839
31	California	1769	1850	158,360	3,426,536
32	Minnesota	1819	1858	83,365	2,386,371
33	Oregon	1811	1859	96,030	783,389
34	Kansas	1854	1861	82,080	1,769,257
35	West Virginia	1727	1863	24,780	1,463,610
36	Nevada	1850	1864	110,700	77,407
37	Nebraska	1847	1867	77,510	1,295,502
38	Colorado	1859	1876	103,925	939,376
39	North Dakota	1812	1889	70,795	645,730
40	South Dakota	1857	1889	77,650	635,839
41	Montana	1861	1889	146,080	547,593
42	Washington	1845	1889	69,180	1,356,316
43	Idaho	1862	1890	84,800	431,926
44	Wyoming	1867	1890	97,890	194,402
45	Utah	1847	1896	84,970	449,446
46	Oklahoma	1889	1907	70,230	2,027,564
47	New Mexico	1582	1912	122,580	360,247
48	Arizona	1580	1912	113,020	333,273
				3,690,822	105,683,108

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Election of Members. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers [which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding

Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons].[1] The actual 9
enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting
of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent
term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The 10
number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty
thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative:
[and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hamp- 11
shire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New
York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one;
Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Caro-
lina, five; and Georgia, three].[2]

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from 12
any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of elec-
tion to fill such vacancies.

Officers. Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall 13
choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole 14
power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. SENATE

Number of Senators; Election. The Senate of the United States 15
shall be composed of two senators from each State [chosen by the
Legislature thereof],[3] for six years; and each senator shall have
one vote.

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in 16
consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as
may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class
shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second
class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the
expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every
second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation, or other- 17
wise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive

[1] "Three-fifths of all other persons" refers to slaves. Slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment, and the clause in brackets is no longer in force, the Fourteenth Amendment (**140**) having taken its place.

[2] The clause in brackets was a temporary provision. The present law (1913) provides for one representative for each 212,407 persons.

[3] This clause is no longer in force, the Seventeenth Amendment (**147**) having taken its place.

thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies]. [1]

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have 18
attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of
the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabi- 19
tant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice-President of the United States 20
shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they
be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also 21
a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or
when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to 22
try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be
on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States
is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be con-
victed without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of im- 23
peachment shall not extend further than to removal from office,
and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or
profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall never-
theless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and
punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. BOTH HOUSES

Manner of Electing Members. The times, places, and manner 24
of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be pre-
scribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress
may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as
to the places of choosing senators.

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least 25
once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in
December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. THE HOUSES SEPARATELY

Organization. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, 26
returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of

[1] This clause is no longer in force, the Seventeenth Amendment (**148**) having taken its place.

each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide. 27

Rules. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. 28 29

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal. 30

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting. 31

SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place. 32 33

Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office. 34 35

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills. 36

How Bills Become Laws. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a 37

law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, 38
he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree 39
to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any 40
bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Resolutions, etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the 41
concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules of limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay 42
the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States; 43

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the 44
several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws 45
on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, 46
and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities 47
and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads; 48

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, 49
for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court; 50

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high 51
seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make 52
rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to 53
that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy; 54

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land 55
and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of 56
the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, 57
and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over 58
such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority 59
over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — And

Implied Powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and 60
proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. [The migration or importa- 61
tion of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.][1]

[1] This clause refers to the importation of slaves and is no longer in force.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, 62
unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed. 63

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in propor- 64
tion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. 65

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or 66
revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence 67
of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and ac- 68
count of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and 69
no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into 70
any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of 71
attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, with- 72
out the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of 73
tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of 74
the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the
term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen
for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Leg- 75
islature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole
number of senators and representatives to which the State may be
entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or per- 76
son holding an office of trust or profit under the United States,
shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [The electors shall 77
meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons,
of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State
with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons
voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they
shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the govern-
ment of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate.
The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate
and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes
shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of
votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the
whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than
one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes,
then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by
ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority,
then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like
manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the
votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State
having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a mem-
ber or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of
all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after
the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number
of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there
should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall
choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] [1]

[1] This paragraph is no longer in force, the Twelfth Amendment (133–135) having taken its place.

Time of Choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the 78
time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural born 79
citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not 80
have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

Vacancy. In case of the removal of the President from office, 81
or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President;[1] and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his 82
services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall 83
take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Military Powers; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall 84
be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, 85
of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he 86
shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

[1] The Presidential Succession Act of 1886 provides that the members of the Cabinet in a given order shall succeed to the Presidency.

Treaties; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. 87 88 89

Filling of Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session. 90

SECTION 3. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

Message; Convening of Congress. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States. 91 92 93 94

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. 95

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. UNITED STATES COURTS

Courts Established; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their 96 97

offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; [1] — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects. 98

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make. 99

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed. 100

SECTION 3. TREASON

Treason Defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. 101

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. 102

Punishment. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted. 103

[1] This provision has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public 104
acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and 105
immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with 106
treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Fugitive Slaves. [No person held to service or labor in one 107
State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.][1]

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

Admission of States. New States may be admitted by the Con- 108
gress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall 109
have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

[1] This clause refers to slavery and was the basis of the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850. It is no longer in force since the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery.

SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union 110
a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How Proposed; How Ratified. The Congress, whenever two- 111
thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures 112
of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conven- 113
tions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; [provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article][1] and that no 114
State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. All debts contracted, and engagements entered 115
into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supremacy of Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of 116
the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the 117
judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives 118
before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures,

[1] This is another clause referring to slavery and no longer has any force.

and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. 119

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same. 120

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON
President, and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire
JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

Massachusetts
NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

Connecticut
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

New York
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

New Jersey
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WILLIAM PATERSON
JONATHAN DAYTON

Pennsylvania
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBERT MORRIS
GEORGE CLYMER
THOMAS FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Delaware
GEORGE READ
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACOB BROOM

Maryland
JAMES M'HENRY
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER
DANIEL CARROLL

Virginia
JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON, JR.

North Carolina
WILLIAM BLOUNT
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT
HUGH WILLIAMSON

South Carolina
JOHN RUTLEDGE
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

Georgia
WILLIAM FEW
ABRAHAM BALDWIN

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. *Article I.*[1] Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances. 121

Militia. *Article II.* A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. 122

Soldiers. *Article III.* No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law. 123

Unreasonable Searches. *Article IV.* The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. 124

Criminal Prosecutions. *Article V.* No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. 125 126

Speedy Trial Assured. *Article VI.* In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. 127

[1] The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress in 1789 and were ratified soon after by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states (**113**). These ten amendments are often called the Bill of Rights. They were declared to be in force December 15, 1791.

Suits at Common Law. *Article VII.* In suits at common law, 128
where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Bail, Punishments. *Article VIII.* Excessive bail shall not be 129
required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Reserved Rights. *Article IX.* The enumeration in the Con- 130
stitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Reserved Powers. *Article X.* The powers not delegated to the 131
United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Suits against States. *Article XI.*[1] The judicial power of the 132
United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of Electing President and Vice-President. *Article XII.*[2]
The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot 133
for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from 134
the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing

[1] Declared in force, January 8, 1798.
[2] Declared in force, September 25, 1804.

the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a 135
majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Slavery Abolished. *Article XIII.*[1] *Section* 1. Neither slavery 136
nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Negroes Made Citizens. *Article XIV.*[2] *Section* 1. All persons 137
born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which 138
shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or 139
property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the 140
several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice 141
of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any

[1] Declared in force December 18, 1865.
[2] Declared in force July 28, 1868.

of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in 142
Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, 143
authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any 144
State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Negroes Made Voters. *Article XV.*[1] *Section* 1. The rights of 145
citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Income Tax. *Article XVI.*[2] The Congress shall have power to 146
lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Direct Election of Senators. *Article XVII.*[3] The Senate of the 147

[1] Declared in force March 30, 1870.
[2] Declared in force February 25, 1913.
[3] Declared in force May 31, 1913.

United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the 148
Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

National Prohibition. *Article XVIII.*[1] *Section* 1. After one 149
year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have con- 150
current power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Equal Suffrage. *Article XIX.*[2] *Section* 1. The right of citizens 151
of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

[1] Declared in force January 16, 1920, having been ratified a year before.

[2] Declared in force August 20, 1920.

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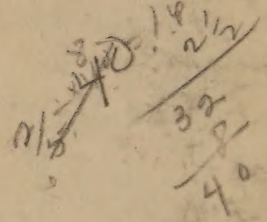
First Sunday after the first
full moon after the 21st of
March is Easter.

The Coolidge Cabinet.

Frank B. Kellogg of Minn, Sec. of Sta
Andrew W. Mellon of Penn, Sec. of Treas
John W. Weeks of Mass, Sec. of War
Jno. G. Sargent of Vermont Attorney Gen
Harry S. New of Indiana - Postmaster Ge
Curtis D. Wilbur of Calif, Sec of Navy
Hubert Work of Colorado, sec. of interior
W. M. Jardine of Kansas Sec. of agriculture

1. To hear & decide as arbitrator.

to submit a reference for decision to arbitration



Raker Rammer

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cabbage: " 5 5-1
Bread, butter, milk.
apples.
oranges.
cheese
potatoes.

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$$40$$

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